

In Baghdad, Death Makes Bitter Point to Hostage

By Mark Fineman
Los Angeles Times Service

BAGHDAD — One Caro hardly felt like a hostage, although for 25 days he and thousands of other U.S. citizens had been forbidden to leave Iraq.

Mr. Caro and his colleagues had relaxed at poolside. He had played the guitar. There had been good food and drink, and he had found solace in the affection he had built up with the Iraqi people over the eight years he had worked here as a financial manager.

Last Saturday, Mr. Caro's father died. Word came by telephone from his home in New Jersey. It changed everything.

"It was pretty sudden; he had a heart attack," Mr. Caro, 37, said Monday in the diplomatic compound where he and 34 companions took refuge two weeks ago. Just as suddenly, Mr. Caro realized that he could not go home, that, despite the comforts, he was a hostage.

An unidentified American hostage has died in Iraq, apparently of a heart attack. The Associated Press reported Tuesday

from Washington. The State Department quoted Iraqi authorities as saying that the man, in his mid-50s, died in Basra and that the body would be turned over to the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad. Cable News Network said the man had been taken to Basra as a "human shield" against any U.S. attack.

Mr. Caro and many other Americans here are caught up in a bizarre and ambiguous drama.

Tom, a friend of Mr. Caro who asked not to be further identified, said: "We're supposed to be blindfolded, locked in a cell and chained to the wall, but we're not. We're like Club Med hostages."

"But personal freedom? Yes, in that regard we are hostages. There's a life, I want to live that life, and I can't. And Caro can't go home for his father's funeral."

The mood among the Americans in Iraq is an eerie mixture of confusion and frustration, of remoteness and isolation.

Of the 35 U.S. diplomats stationed in Iraq, only nine remain at the embassy. Those left behind to tend to the Ameri-

cans here were among Western diplomats who spoke of "the endless psychological pressure" and "the dark uncertainty of just how barbaric these people are."

On the surface, the Iraqis, who officially refer to the Westerners as guests, have been anything but harsh. Indeed, if the Americans trapped in Iraq are prisoners, they are in the world's largest and most luxurious jail. Little is known of the 2,500 Americans in Kuwait, but the 500 or so in Baghdad were free to move about the city as they please. None were known to have been harassed by the authorities, and most continued to express strong affection for the Iraqi people.

For 41 others, the ordeal was different. They were among what a diplomat here called "soft targets" — principally oil workers rounded up from Kuwait's desert oil fields when the Iraqi Army overran the country Aug. 2, and passengers on a British Airways flight that had landed in Kuwait at the time.

The U.S. government knows who they are. Embassy officials met with all 41 every

day at the two hotels where military authorities kept them until Aug. 16. On Aug. 17, they disappeared, presumably transferred to strategic sites in connection with President Saddam Hussein's "human shield" strategy.

"There's no doubt we're better off than those 41, but this is precisely what feeds the fear," said Bob Vinton, 58, a Baghdad-based businessman.

"Why take 41 hostages and leave the rest of us?" he said. "This is what no one can figure out. Saddam Hussein says it's because they were in Kuwait and we're in Iraq. But that could change overnight. It's uncertainty that causes panic, and a few are starting to panic."

As international sanctions began to have an impact on Iraqis, they would also have an impact on foreigners living alongside them.

"It's going to become increasingly difficult soon," Mr. Vinton said. "Food is quickly running out. It's going to be desperate times soon. People are going to start

See BAGHDAD, Page 3

Saddam Hussein Says Women and Children Are Free to Leave Iraq

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BAGHDAD — President Saddam Hussein said Tuesday that he would allow all women and children detained in Iraq to leave, Baghdad television reported.

The report quoted a spokesman for Iraq's ruling Revolutionary Command Council as saying that the president's decision came after a meeting with foreigners earlier Tuesday.

Mr. Hussein made the decision after he was acquainted with their condition, the spokesman said, adding that the Iraqi leader was "deeply affected by the desire ex-

pressed by some women to have the freedom of staying or leaving."

"He ordered that all children and women enjoy the freedom of staying or leaving," the spokesman said. The order is effective Wednesday.

A spokesman for the State Department's Kuwait Task Force said Tuesday that U.S. officials had "no solid confirmation" of the report.

At least 10,000 Western nationals, including about 3,000 Americans, are trapped in Iraq and Kuwait. It was not known how many women and children are among them, nor was it clear whether the order applied to those held in Kuwait.

President George Bush, returning to Washington from Maine for a meeting with congressional leaders, did not comment directly on the decision to release some of the hostages.

But he warned: "I remain deeply concerned about the American and other foreign nationals held by Iraq. I will hold Baghdad responsible."

"Let no one abroad doubt our national unity and staying power," he said.

Mr. Bush repeated that the goal of the U.S. military buildup in the Gulf remained the "complete and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait."

He cited the international reaction to the invasion of Kuwait on Aug. 2, saying "world response to Iraq was a near unanimous chorus of condemnation."

"This is not the United States against Iraq," he said. "It is truly Iraq against the rest of the world."

"The basic elements of our strategy are now in place," Mr. Bush said. "Our intention is to persuade Iraq to withdraw. We seek to achieve these goals without further violence."

Earlier, in a decree published in Iraqi newspapers, Mr. Hussein declared Kuwait a province of Iraq. The newspapers did not say when the decree was issued.

Iraq's longstanding claim to Kuwait is based on the fact that during the Ottoman Empire, Kuwait was

part of the Basra governorate, and the British split it up after World War I.

Under the decree Kuwait City was renamed Kadhima, which was its name before World War I, Iraq's director of information, Najib Haidhi, said.

The decree detached a few kilometers of Kuwait from the new province and made them part of the southern Iraqi province of Basra. The border strip was named Saddamiyat al Mithla, after Mr. Hussein.

Kuwait's exiled government called the decree "a conspicuous challenge" to international will.

Saudi Arabia said it endangered peace efforts.

Iraq also said Tuesday that it would expel an unspecified number

On Page 3

To see the troops, a reporter in Saudi Arabia uses persistence, luck and a sign-up sheet.

Japan attached new conditions to the financial aid to help Middle Eastern countries.

For American soldiers hurrying to the Gulf, the waiting starts in Frankfurt.

U.S. diplomats from Baghdad in retaliation for Washington's expulsion of 36 Iraqi diplomats, the U.S. State Department said.

"Our charge d'affaires in Baghdad was summoned by the Iraqi chief of protocol and told that the government of Iraq would take reciprocal action against our embassy in Baghdad," said the State Department spokesman, Margaret D. Tutwiler.

"The Iraqis have told us this would include reduction of our embassy staff in Baghdad and unspecified restrictions on available funds," she said.

Miss Tutwiler said it was unclear precisely what steps Baghdad planned to take.

The United States said Monday that it would expel 36 Iraqi embassy personnel and restrict 19 others in retaliation for Iraqi actions

See IRAQ, Page 2



ROTATING IN — French transport helicopters landing on the aircraft carrier Clemenceau in Djibouti on the Gulf of Aden. The carrier is heading for the Gulf, accompanied by a cruiser and supply ship.

Iraqi Asks Bush and Thatcher to Debate

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NICOSIA — President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, meeting Tuesday with Western hostages, challenged President George Bush and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to a broadcast debate on the Gulf crisis.

On an Iraqi television broadcast, Mr. Hussein shook hands with an international group of two dozen hostages and patted children on the head. Then he delivered a half-hour defense of their detention and answered questions.

In his request for dialogue, he

referred specifically to the American and British leaders.

"I am prepared now, really prepared, for direct talks, dialogue with Mr. Bush and Mrs. Thatcher, immediately," he said.

"To let the world know everything about the whole situation," he said, "let us have the debate between me and them on television for the whole world to see."

The Bush administration has repeatedly said that Iraq must withdraw its troops from Kuwait before negotiations can begin.

The State Department spokes-

woman, Margaret D. Tutwiler, said Mr. Hussein's television appearance showed a "bizarre and warped sense of public relations."

"There nothing to dialogue on right now," she said. "The debate is long over."

Mrs. Thatcher was visiting Finland, and a spokeswoman in Britain said: "The bottom line is that he has to get out of Kuwait before any discussion can occur."

Mr. Hussein indicated no change in his position on the crisis. He accused Mr. Bush of behaving in an inhuman manner and said the hos-

tages were there to save the lives of many more women and children who would die if war broke out.

It was the Iraqi leader's second televised meeting with Western hostages. The first, with a British group, was denounced by Western governments. It was not immediately clear what countries the foreigners were from this time, or when and where the meeting occurred.

A woman with a British accent asked Mr. Hussein why he was using children as pawns in "in something they can't understand."

He said in a long response that his hand was forced by Western troops massing in the region.

"I hope the hospitality forced upon you will not last long," he said.

In his defense of Iraq's action, Mr. Hussein stressed that the West should have no fear for oil supplies from the Middle East.

"The Arabs do not want to keep the oil in their pockets," he said. "They want to sell it to the Americans, Europe and Japan."

(Reuters, AP)

U.S. Sailors Board Ships in Gulf of Aqaba

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MANAMA, Bahrain — In what appeared to be the first time that it had searched a foreign ship since the Aug. 6 embargo was imposed in the Red Sea and the Gulf, the U.S. Navy boarded two vessels heading for the Jordanian port of Aqaba, Iraq's main ocean gateway, international shipping officials said Tuesday.

The freighter Zorba Express, of Caribbean registry, and the Indian freighter Kaitas were stopped Monday on suspicion of carrying supplies for Iraq. Both were allowed to proceed.

Lloyd's of London said that the port of Aqaba was at a "virtual standstill, its huge trucking fleet idle."

U.S. and other ships patrolling Iraqi maritime approaches have United Nations authority to use force against vessels that ignore orders to stop.

(AP, AFT, IFT)

A Puzzling Anomaly: Why Are Soviet Advisers Still in Iraq?

By Joseph Fitchett
International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — Soviet officials have told Western governments that Moscow is encountering unspecified difficulties in withdrawing its military advisers and technicians from Iraq, a senior official in NATO said Tuesday.

He said that Moscow had acknowledged to the United States and other Western nations that the

advisers' presence violated United Nations sanctions, despite Soviet officials' public assertions that a legal loophole exempts the advisers from the military embargo on Iraq.

But despite Western insistence, Moscow — without fuller explanation — has apparently declined to give clear assurances or a timetable for pulling out the Soviet advisers, who are reported to number 193.

"We are going to keep pressing

harder to get them out, but it seems to be unclear exactly what their role is or what is holding up their departure," said the official, who spoke on condition that he be identified simply as an official in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The official treated the issue as a puzzling anomaly in an otherwise strongly positive picture of Soviet cooperation in seeking to expel the Iraqis from Kuwait.

He characterized Moscow as

having been "a good world citizen" in the confrontation so far by helping isolate Baghdad internationally, accepting the costs of placing an embargo on a Soviet trade partner and giving political support to the U.S. troops' deployment to Saudi Arabia.

Soviet policy, he suggested, should be interpreted as genuinely convergent with Western goals in the Gulf and not as just a diplomatic expedient designed to protect So-

viet political and economic opportunities in the West or, even less likely, a tacit masking secret Soviet hopes of perhaps recouping some political influence in the region if anti-Western extremism gained the upper hand in some countries there.

Soviet strategists, he said, seem "genuinely convinced that it was a bad, dangerous step liable to desta-

See MOSCOW, Page 3

Science Sniffs Out Culprit in Damp Case

By Lawrence K. Altman
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Scientists have discovered the identity of the chemicals that produce underarm odor.

The culprits are two forms of a chemical that produces odors when exposed to certain bacteria.

The discovery is expected to spur research in the \$1.6 billion deodorant industry to find more effective and longer-lasting products.

And because earlier research showed that underarm chemicals could influence the length and timing of the menstrual cycle, the new findings may also eventually point to novel methods of birth control and fertility enhancement.

The discovery was reported Monday at a meeting of the American Chemical Society by Dr. George Preti of the Monell Chemical Senses Center in Philadelphia.

The chemical Dr. Preti's team identified as producing the odor caused a flurry of excitement 21 years ago when other researchers linked its presence in sweat to schizophrenia.

But that research was flawed, and scientists quickly found the same chemical in people who were not schizophrenic.

At the time, researchers did not try to link the chemical to underarm odor. And until Monday, most scientists appear to have forgotten about the chemical, 3-methyl-2-hexenoic acid.

In the new research, Dr. Preti's team identified two forms, or isomers, known as (E) and (Z) 3-methyl-2-hexenoic acid, as the chief cause of underarm odor. Isomers are molecules that contain the same atoms but in different arrangements.

Before the report on Monday, underarm odor was widely attributed to isovaleric acid and other chemicals and steroids like androstene and androstanoic. But Dr. Preti remained unconvinced. Odors produced by isovaleric acid and the other chemicals are "not what I smell after cutting the lawn on a hot Saturday," Dr. Preti said.

The body emits different odors that are characteristic of each area, some so distinctive that they can be readily identified.

The most pungent human odor comes from

armpits, and for centuries many cultures have regarded it as so offensive that people have sought ways to suppress it at any cost.

The odor has long been traced to the apocrine glands attached to hair follicles in the axilla, or armpit. Such glands are larger and more numerous in the axilla than elsewhere in the body. Males have many more apocrine glands than females.

Apocrine glands produce only minuscule amounts of secretions each day. The secretions are odorless and the odor comes from degradation of the secretions by the billions of harmless bacteria that live on everyone's skin. There are dozens of different types of microbes on the skin, and the microbial population is known as a flora.

The secretions from the glands in the armpit contain a complex mixture of compounds. In the past, they have not been well characterized, Dr. Preti said, and only some such compounds are responsible for the characteristic odors.

Dr. Preti and his team identified hexenoic

See ODOR, Page 2

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A UN Accord On Cambodia

UNITED NATIONS, New York (AP) — The five permanent Security Council members agreed on plans Tuesday for a truce in Cambodia and UN administration of the country until a new government is elected.

The five — the United States, Britain, France, China and the Soviet Union — called on the Cambodian combatants to accept the truce plan, which includes a major role for the United Nations during a transitional stage leading to free elections.

A key clause permits the United Nations to ensure that elections are held in a neutral political environment. Page 2.

The world's top-ranked tennis player, Stefan Edberg, was upset in the first round of the U.S. Open. Page 15.

Dow Jones	The Dollar
Up 3.21	New York
2,614.85	DM 1.9689
	Pound 1.949
	Yen 143.77
	FF 5.217

UN Agrees on Plan To Run Cambodia When Truce Starts

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The five permanent members of the UN Security Council announced Tuesday on a comprehensive political plan for Cambodia and called on the Cambodian combatants to accept it in its entirety.

In what negotiators called a major breakthrough toward a settlement, the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China, all of whom have at one time supported one Cambodian faction or another, issued a statement saying they had agreed on five "indispensable requirements."

One of the negotiators in the eight-month-old talks, Deputy Foreign Minister Igor A. Rogachev of the Soviet Union, predicted a cease-fire "if everything is going smoothly" in a month or two.

The settlement includes a major role for the United Nations during a transitional stage leading to free elections.

A key clause, according to diplomats, permits the United Nations to ensure that elections are held in a neutral political environment and, if necessary, to take control of five key ministries — foreign, defense, public security, finance and information.

UN peacekeeping and civilian forces are also to supervise disarmament, verify a cease-fire, help organize elections and make sure no foreign troops are left in the country.

If approved by the Cambodians and the full 15-nation Security Council, the new UN peacekeeping force will be known as UNTAC, or the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia.

The five urged "acceptance of this framework document in its entirety" by all parties to the Cambodia conflict — the communist Khmer Rouge, its two noncommunist guerrilla allies, and the Hanouk-installed government in Phnom Penh. Those factions are due to meet in Jakarta in September to discuss acceptance of the plan.

The noncommunist welcomed the agreement on Tuesday, but there was no immediate response from the Khmer Rouge or from the Vietnamese-backed government.

"The question now is whether the Soviets and Chinese can bring their people on board," a U.S. diplomat said.

The Khmer Rouge receives its weapons and supplies from China; the Soviets back the Cambodian government of Prime Minister Hun Sen, which was installed by their ally, Vietnam. Washington backs

the two noncommunist guerrilla factions, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk and a former prime minister, Son Sann.

The key issues now, the American diplomat said, were to organize a cease-fire and elections so a new government can be established that is not dominated by the Khmer Rouge or the pro-Hanoi government now in power.

Vietnam invaded Cambodia in December 1978 to oust the Khmer Rouge, who presided over the deaths of up to 2 million Cambodians from starvation and executions during their brutal rule that began in 1975.

Under the plan, the Cambodians are to form a Supreme National Council until elections can be held. The United Nations would verify a cease-fire, supervise disarmament of the factions, help organize elections and ensure all Vietnamese forces leave Cambodia.

In a complicated disarmament procedure, the five proposed that the armies of each faction regroup in designated areas and store their weapons together, they said.

During the first phase, they would have access to their own arms but not carry them. In the second phase, both the combatants and the United Nations would have access, and in the third phase all weapons would come under UN control.

The key to the peace process is the composition of the national council, which is to be chosen by the Cambodian factions but not necessarily represent them in equal parts.

Officials from the noncommunist groups in the anti-Phnom Penh coalition said the UN agreement made it more likely the factions could agree on a council.

"We welcome the resolution because we think it is the best way to lead to an agreement on the formation of a Supreme National Council," said Leng Mouly, secretary general of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front.

A Sihanouk supporter said, "We are happy with the permanent five resolution, and that is the resolution we would be working on."

The front and supporters of Prince Sihanouk have most to gain from a strong UN role. Both factions are weak on the battlefield.

The council would nominally govern Cambodia but might hand crucial powers over to the UN until free elections could be held, the diplomats said. It would, however, take over Cambodia's UN seat.



Policemen restraining supporters of the Union of Democratic Forces at a protest in Sofia on Monday against the Socialist Party.

Bulgaria Socialists: New Name No Help

By Blaine Harden

Washington Post Service

The burning and looting of the headquarters of Bulgaria's governing Socialist Party in Sofia was an appropriately grim symbol for a stumbling and nearly bankrupt government that has emerged as the weakest in Eastern Europe.

The attack Sunday night, the most serious street violence in Bulgaria since the overthrow of the Communist leader, Todor Zhivkov, in November, was carried out by demonstrators protesting the continued presence of a huge illuminated red star atop the party headquarters, the largest building in the Bulgarian capital.

The National Assembly had not removed the star, although it voted earlier this month to "liquidate" symbols of the Communist past.

Prime Minister Andrei Lukanov said at a news conference that the police had been ill-prepared to stop or control the violence, during which looters entered the building and fled with computers, files, furniture, cases of liquor and at least one large smoked ham.

[A Sofia police official said that 39 people had been arrested and that at least 17, including two policemen, were injured. The Associated Press reported.]

Beyond the physical damage, the attack on the building seemed to punctuate a rapid political deterioration for a party that won a resounding democratic mandate just two months ago. Voters rejected the anti-Communist trend in Eastern Europe and handed the Socialist Party, the renamed former Communist Party, a ruling majority in the assembly.

Yet from the day the party announced its victory, in an election that was generally regarded as fair, it has demonstrated an inability to cure or even address Bulgaria's deep economic ills.

The long list of troubles includes severe shortages of sugar, cooking oil and detergents. The government cannot make payments on its \$10.6 billion foreign debt and has been denied a crucial oil subsidy by the Soviet Union.

The United Nations trade embargo against Iraq ended an oil-for-old-debts arrangement that was the government's best hope for keeping the country's gasoline stations open.

Opinion polls reflect the failure of the Socialists to hold on to the support they were able to marshal in the June elections. By mid-August, polls showed that the opposition Union of Democratic Forces, which took 38 percent of the vote, had the support of 57 percent of those surveyed.

Besides losing the backing of the Bulgarian people, the Socialist government has also failed to win the trust of Western investors and donor countries.

Western diplomats and businessmen say they doubt the government's commitment to political and economic change. As countries like Poland and Hungary race one another to privatize government-dominated economies, there is strong evidence in Bulgaria that the Socialists interpreted their electoral victory as a signal that the system need not change rapidly.

The so-called free-market changes outlined by the Socialist government appear to keep the government and the party in control of the economy. Western economists say the proposed measures do not allow market forces to dictate prices or currency values.

The only workable option for Bulgaria, Mr. Lukanov has frequently said, is for the Union of Democratic Forces to join with the Socialists in a coalition government.

The Union of Democratic Forces, thus far, has refused. Its leaders say they would prefer that the Socialist government collapse and that new elections be held to choose a "non-Communist" government.

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WORLD BRIEFS

U.S. Links Libya to Raid on Israel

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — The United States has accused Libya of direct involvement in May's unsuccessful Palestinian attack on Israeli beaches, calling it a clear example of state-sponsored terrorism.

"We have conclusive evidence from U.S. sources that Libya was behind the attack," a State Department official said Tuesday. He said Washington had passed its findings on to Tripoli but added, "I'm not aware that we've had a response from them or that we expect one."

The Palestine Liberation Front led by Abu Abbas claimed responsibility for the May 30 attack, in which a group of guerrillas attempted a sea assault on beaches near Tel Aviv. Four of the group were killed and 12 captured. No civilians were hurt but it caused Washington to suspend its dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization, which refused to condemn the attack by the Abbas faction.

Colombia Security Units Seize Ranch

MEDELLIN, Colombia (AFP) — Colombian security forces have detained the father of three top members of the Medellin drug ring, Fabio Ochoa, and seized control of his horse-breeding ranch on the outskirts of Medellin.

Mr. Ochoa was being held at his ranch along with his wife and about 30 workers after the security force operation Monday night, army spokesmen said. They described the action as "precautionary" and said it was directed at the ranch rather than at Mr. Ochoa, whose sons Jorge Luis, Juan David and Fabio are reputedly top lieutenants of the drug ring leader, Pablo Escobar Gaviria.

Jorge Luis Ochoa, who once avoided extradition to the United States from Spain and later escaped from a Colombian prison, is believed to be the third-ranking man in the drug ring. A \$500,000 reward has been offered for his capture.

Rebels Open New Front in Sri Lanka

COLOMBO (NYT) — As Sri Lankan troops inch toward Jaffna, along a causeway carpeted with mines, guerrillas have opened another front on the east coast with an attack on an army camp at Mullaitivu. Government spokesmen said Tuesday.

One soldier was killed and dozens have been wounded at Mullaitivu, since fighting began Sunday, the spokesmen said. He added that a large force of guerrillas belonging to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam group had pinned down the army there, making it impossible to evacuate the wounded.

In Jaffna, the army said it had been able to land a helicopter inside the fort on Sunday to supply food and a few additional soldiers to assist embattled troops and policemen trapped there since June. Seven men were evacuated for medical treatment.

Aquino Rejects Call for Resignation

MANILA (Reuters) — President Corason C. Aquino, facing threats of another coup attempt, rejected demands on Tuesday by rightist army rebels for his resignation, calling them an insult to democracy.

Parliamentary policemen beating M-16 rifles were at key buildings Tuesday as part of increased security in the capital. The 17th bomb in just over two weeks exploded early in the day, shattering windows but causing no injuries at the offices of the Manila affiliate of the Japanese automaker, Nissan.

Marking the anniversary of a 1987 coup attempt, army rebels under a renegade colonel, Gregorio Honasan, had issued a statement telling Mrs. Aquino to resign or "face the anger and hatred of the Filipino people." The president responded by calling "these traitors an insult to our people and democratic institutions."

Union's Officials Held in South Africa

JOHANNESBURG (NYT) — The police raided the Johannesburg headquarters of the biggest African labor federation in South Africa and arrested several senior officers after union members purportedly abetted an undercover agent, assaulted him and obliged him to address a news conference.

The police said the detained members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, including Secretary-General Jay Naidoo and Assistant Secretary-General Sydney Mufamadi, had been seized on criminal charges. The federation is allied to the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

Earlier, the purported agent was introduced to reporters at a news conference shortly before the police raid.

Jeb Bush Hooks President's Ear

WASHINGTON (UPI) — President George Bush's right ear lobe was punctured by a fish hook cast by his son Tuesday, but the incident did not prevent the president from fishing for another hour, his spokesman said.

Mr. Bush, a frequent fisherman while at his summer home in Kennebunkport, Maine, was fishing with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada when he was hooked by his son Jeb. The White House press secretary, Martha Fitzwater, speaking as Mr. Bush flew back to Washington, described the president as fine.

For the Record

The Soviet Union and Albania agreed to renew direct trade relations on Tuesday, the Tass press agency said. They recently restored diplomatic ties after a 30-year break. Tass said the two nations had agreed on a trade accord for this year, under which Albania would deliver cigarettes to the Soviet Union to help ease a chronic shortage of tobacco. (Reuters)

TRAVEL UPDATE

Landslides Isolate Nepal's Capital

KATMANDU, Nepal (Combined Dispatches) — Landslides caused by floods and heavy monsoon rains have blocked all roads leading to Katmandu, isolating the capital from the rest of the Himalayan kingdom, bus operators said Tuesday.

At least 20 Nepalese were drowned by the floods in Chitwan National Park, and 17 foreigners were rescued by army helicopters. Chitwan, home to rare white rhinos and tigers, is one of Nepal's major tourist centers. The tourists were from Britain, Australia, Italy, Spain and France, an witness said.

The U.S. State Department has warned American citizens to avoid traveling to northern and eastern El Salvador because of leftist guerrilla activity. The warning followed an attack on civilians by rebels of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, which coincided with peace talks with President Alfredo Cristiani's government. (UPI, Reuters)

Niger's international airport was closed on Tuesday as the civil aviation union called a 24-hour strike to support tax drivers and road hauliers, who began a two-day stoppage Monday in Niamey. The transport union wants a stop to the recruitment of foreigners as drivers by embassies and national transport companies. (AFP)

WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW	WIND		HIGH	LOW	WIND
Amsterdam	57	47	W	Beijing	82	67	W
Algeria	77	62	W	Bombay	82	67	W
Barcelona	67	52	W	Calcutta	82	67	W
Berlin	67	52	W	Chongqing	82	67	W
Bombay	82	67	W	Hankow	82	67	W
Buenos Aires	82	67	W	Harbin	82	67	W
Cardiff	67	52	W	Heilongjiang	82	67	W
Cairo	82	67	W	Hong Kong	82	67	W
Canberra	82	67	W	Kobe	82	67	W
Chengdu	82	67	W	London	67	52	W
Chongqing	82	67	W	Los Angeles	82	67	W
Copenhagen	67	52	W	Manila	82	67	W
Dallas	82	67	W	Medan	82	67	W
Darwin	82	67	W	Osaka	82	67	W
Delhi	82	67	W	Perth	82	67	W
Dhaka	82	67	W	Port of Spain	82	67	W
Dublin	67	52	W	San Francisco	82	67	W
Edinburgh	67	52	W	Seoul	82	67	W
Geneva	67	52	W	Singapore	82	67	W
Hankow	82	67	W	Taipei	82	67	W
Harbin	82	67	W	Tokyo	82	67	W
Heilongjiang	82	67	W				
Hong Kong	82	67	W				
Kobe	82	67	W				
London	67	52	W				
Los Angeles	82	67	W				
Manila	82	67	W				
Medan	82	67	W				
Osaka	82	67	W				
Perth	82	67	W				
Port of Spain	82	67	W				
San Francisco	82	67	W				
Seoul	82	67	W				
Singapore	82	67	W				
Taipei	82	67	W				
Tokyo	82	67	W				

WEDNESDAY'S FORECAST — CHANNING: Slightly cloudy, FRANKFURT: Partly cloudy, 1-17 (M) — 63, LONDON: Partly cloudy, 1-17 (M) — 63, PARIS: Partly cloudy, 1-17 (M) — 63, ROME: Partly cloudy, 1-17 (M) — 63, SYDNEY: Partly cloudy, 1-17 (M) — 63, TOKYO: Partly cloudy, 1-17 (M) — 63, WASHINGTON: Partly cloudy, 1-17 (M) — 63, YOKOHAMA: Partly cloudy, 1-17 (M) — 63.

East German Leftists Throw Food at Kohl

Reuters

HALLE, East Germany — Leftist protesters hurled tomatoes and eggs at Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany at a rally on Tuesday, but security men used umbrellas to prevent the objects from hitting their target.

About 100 leftists among a crowd of 3,000 dived onto Mr. Kohl with whistles and shouts complaining about the high cost of German reunification when he addressed a rally in Halle, 180 kilometers (110 miles) south of Berlin.

"If you want to see the result of 40 years of Communist rule, just look at these hooligans with blind hatred in their faces," Mr. Kohl said.

"A vote for the Communists is a vote for violence and state terror," the chancellor said, referring to East German state elections on Oct. 14 and an all-German vote on Dec. 2. East Germany is to merge with West Germany on Oct. 3.

The crowd in Halle was tiny compared with the 150,000-strong crowds which greeted Mr. Kohl when he barnstormed through East Germany in March.

Since then, unemployment has soared from next to nothing to about 350,000 in August, underscoring an economic decline accelerated by East Germany's exposure this summer to Western-style market forces.

Meanwhile, in Berlin, a West German Jewish leader sharply criticized a draft treaty on German reunification on Tuesday, saying it failed to mention the country's historical responsibility for Nazi war crimes.

Urging Mr. Kohl to change the treaty, the official, Heinz Galinski, said the chancellor assured him last month the document would stress Germany's moral debt to victims of Nazism.

But nothing was done, and the chancellor had disregarded follow-up inquiries, Mr. Galinski said.

Mr. Galinski said the government's failure to respond "is a terrible situation — an absolute disregard of not just the Jewish

community but everyone victimized by Nazism."

There was no immediate reaction from the government.

Mr. Galinski, a survivor of the Auschwitz concentration camp and president of the Jewish Central Council, the umbrella organization for West Germany's 30,000 Jews, said that he had sent a letter of protest to leaders of Bonn's ruling coalition parties on Sunday but that none had responded.

Many Jews say they see a resurgence of anti-Semitism and racism among Germans — especially in the formerly Communist East — amid the national euphoria over reunification.

IRAQ: Hussein Says He Will Let Women and Children Leave Baghdad

(Continued from page 1)

against foreigners, particularly its forced closing of the U.S. Embassy in occupied Kuwait.

Miss Tutwiler said Washington would comply with Baghdad's order if it was issued within the framework of international law, but would not say if Washington planned another retaliatory move.

The staff of the Moroccan Embassy in Kuwait is being held hostage after being taken forcibly from the embassy to Baghdad, the Moroccan Foreign Ministry said.

It said the diplomats were prevented from entering the embassy building on Saturday, threatened with firearms and ordered to leave for Baghdad. On arrival in Baghdad, the Iraqi authorities told them they could not leave because they had lost their diplomatic immunity.

The Pentagon, meanwhile, said Iraq's troop strength in and near Kuwait had increased to 265,000 soldiers. "There's been a general trend in the past several days of these numbers increasing," a spokesman, Pete Williams, said.

The Pentagon has doubled its earlier estimate of the cost of its Gulf deployment to \$2.5 billion by the end of September, or roughly \$46 million a day, as Pentagon officials also reported that its supply of tanks and equipment was suffering some breakdowns.

Mr. Williams said his initial estimate of \$1.2 billion for the first two

months of the deployment did not take into account the escalating cost of fuel, which has increased an average of \$10 a barrel, he said; a doubling of the aircraft carrier battle groups dispatched to waters around the Arabian peninsula, and the call-up of thousands of military reservists.

The Pentagon also completed a new arms sale package to Saudi Arabia that could total as much as \$8 billion and transfer 24 F-15 fighters to the kingdom immediately and another 24 early next year. The package was said by sources to include other weapons, including M-1 tanks, armored vehicles, artillery and Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

FACE-OFF IN THE GULF: A waiting game for soldiers en route, a frustrating game for correspondents in the field

Japan Aid Is Linked To Talks

Delay Is Foreseen For Help in Gulf

By James Sterngold

TOKYO—Japanese officials attached new conditions on Tuesday to the financial aid pledged last week to help Middle Eastern countries hurt by the trade embargo against Iraq.

The new conditions are likely to slow the rate at which the support is delivered and make it contingent on contributions from other countries, principally the United States.

"Japan should make a significant contribution in this field, but there is a limit to what any one country can do," a senior Finance Ministry official said at a briefing.

"An international network of support might be necessary," the official said.

He said this meant that Japan would try not to act on its own, but would seek to be part of an aid consortium that would include the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United States and other industrialized nations.

The comments marked a change in tone from last week, when government officials said Japan was preparing to offer billions of dollars in support to nations that were participating in the embargo. The government was targeting mainly Jordan, Egypt and Turkey.

The government now appears to be tempering global expectations about how much Japan would contribute and the terms under which it would make loans, grants or other forms of aid available. Japan has initiated programs to help recycle the vast trade surpluses racked up in recent years, but it has fought against developing an image as a "cash dispenser machine" for aid, as one official put it.

The Japanese Constitution restricts the use of military forces in international disputes, and the government has been engaged in an internal debate over how it can directly participate in the embargo without changing the law or jeopardizing political support at home.

Every day, newspapers have carried accounts of the positions of different political and government leaders, and some editorialists have criticized them for worrying more about what they could not do than what they could do to help resolve the Gulf crisis.

Several officials had seized on financial aid to the Middle Eastern countries as a form of support that was not restricted under the law, but that would mark a positive Japanese contribution. These officials had said a package of low-interest loans and other forms of aid would be announced shortly to demonstrate Japan's commitment.

On Wednesday, Prime Minister Toshiro Kaifu is expected to report on his long-awaited package of concrete measures for bolstering the multinational forces opposing Iraq. But already, many officials are saying he will refer only to preliminary steps.

Among press reports, the measures are expected to include sending medical personnel to the Gulf region, refugee aid and transportation equipment, and perhaps chartered jets and ships. The second part of the package, the financial measures, is now expected to be incomplete and contingent on talks with other countries.

Japan is more dependent on Middle Eastern oil than any other industrialized nation, obtaining 70 percent of its crude from the region. Shortly after Iraq invaded Kuwait, Japan froze the assets of the two countries and decided to join the trade embargo. Getting beyond those initial steps has proved difficult.

The note of caution sounded by the Finance Ministry official indicated some sides in the Foreign Ministry, who had hoped for a quicker and more decisive response to promote Japan's image as a leading player in international issues.

"If we miss this wave, the wave will be gone," a Foreign Ministry official said. "This is frustrating for us."

Bonn and Cairo Seek Gulf Talks

FRANKFURT—West Germany and Egypt called Tuesday for a meeting of European and Arab foreign ministers to discuss the Gulf crisis.

A meeting is needed "to coordinate the way in which we should proceed," said Hans-Dietrich Genscher, West Germany's foreign minister. Mr. Genscher pledged West German economic assistance to all countries in the region that suffered economically because of their support for the United Nations sanctions against Iraq.

Foreign Minister Emsat Abdel Meguid of Egypt, in Frankfurt on his way home from Moscow, said Egypt wanted to avoid military confrontation in the region at all costs.

France Bans Hussein Rallies

PARIS—France has prohibited demonstrations supporting President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. Foreign Minister Roland Dumas announced. There have been two such rallies in Paris.

For GIs Hurrying to the Gulf, Frankfurt Is Where the Waiting Starts

By Marc Fisher

Washington Post Service

RHEIN-MAIN AIR BASE, West Germany—They have been traveling for 20, 40, sometimes 60 hours, and when they finally land here at the pivot point of the largest U.S. airlift in decades the troops are ready to resume practicing the primary military maneuver of the Gulf crisis thus far, the HUAW.

That, a group of fighter jet pilots explain, is military jargon for "hurry up and wait."

This is the last rest stop before the Gulf. It is where soldiers already dressed in desert fatigues plop themselves under a tree for their last shuteye in a temperate climate. It is where troops storm the

PX and stock up on cassettes, junk novels and candy bars.

Since U.S. forces began pouring thousands of troops and millions of pounds of supplies and equipment into the Gulf region, Rhein-Main, the American base that shares runways with Germany's busiest airport, Frankfurt International, has become the stopover point for a large chunk of the airlift.

The U.S. Air Force's 435th Tactical Airlift Wing is handling four times the usual amount of air traffic; a tent city has sprouted just off the main runway, and news-starved soldiers are buying up lowering stacks of USA Today and The Stars and Stripes, the military daily.

"It's been so busy, there are times when we have aircraft sitting on the runway waiting for a parking spot," said

Colonel Thomas Mikolajick, commander of the 435th. Although the air force will not divulge the number of C-5 and C-141 transports that land here each day, West German officials say the flow into Rhein-Main has shot up from about 40 a day to 80 a day in the last three weeks.

With many of the base's 4,000 military personnel working 12-hour shifts, their commander's chief concern is to make sure their collective energy is not exhausted.

"This is not like Grenada or Panama," Colonel Mikolajick said. "They were sprints. This is a marathon. We must pace ourselves to do this next week, next month and however long this goes on."

The heavy load is straining not only

human but also mechanical capacities. Although the commander denied it, maintenance workers at Rhein-Main said the frequent and heavy loads of recent weeks had produced structural wing cracks on several C-141 Starlifters, which were made in the mid-1960s.

"Some of them are flying with weight restrictions because of the problems," said Sergeant Thurmon Bowman, a maintenance worker at the base. "But they're tough old birds. And we don't let them leave here with problems."

Attitudes toward President Saddam Hussein of Iraq and the mission in the Gulf vary considerably. Although many in one plane load of marines said they were itching to "do something already," others were in no hurry to see any action.

"It's not for me to decide," said Lance Corporal Jeff Waller of Duluth, Minn. "I'm a soldier. I go where I'm told. I don't have to like it."

"I'd rather be going over and waiting there than sitting home and watching TV," said Major Craig Wilson, an F-15E pilot who arrived in Germany from Phoenix. "By the way, you could use CNN here. It's hard to know what's going on down there."

Virtually alone among Western European countries, West Germany refuses to carry the U.S. news channel on its government-controlled cable system.

Captain Randy Garrett, another pilot, sat thumbing through a pile of newspapers, waiting for his flight to the Gulf. "It's going to be an awful lot of this,

sitting and waiting," he said. "I brought a baseball glove and a ball and a few decks of cards. We're well prepared to wait Saddam out."

Not everyone is so patient. Several groups of West German citizens have begun organizing protests against the dramatic increase in U.S. flights at Rhein-Main, complaining that the airlift, which is conducted largely at night, has made it impossible to sleep within 32 miles (32 kilometers) of the base.

"There is no full hour in which one can sleep," said Rolf Denk, the leader of Interested Citizens Against Flight Noise. "These planes come in low, and it sounds like a dentist drilling. It's painful. We are the punished ones here, not Iraq."



SIGNING UP—Saudi Arabians gathering outside a Saudi National Guard office in Jidda. Thousands of Saudis are enlisting following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

King's Diplomatic Push Is Sign of New Doubts About Iraq in Amman

By Nora Bonstany

Washington Post Service

AMMAN, Jordan—King Hussein's new push for a diplomatic solution to the Gulf crisis reflects growing misgivings here about Amman's association with Baghdad, according to several prominent Jordanians.

The king is touring Arab capitals this week seeking consensus on a formula for an Iraqi pullout from Kuwait, and a Jordanian politician said the king would try to persuade Iraq's president, Saddam Hussein, "to give a signal for withdrawal" with Arab backing.

Jordan will also be host to a meeting set for Thursday between the United Nations secretary-general, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, and Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz of Iraq.

The masses in Jordan, a largely Palestinian country, still appear to support Saddam Hussein. But increased domestic pressure on King Hussein to distance Jordan from Iraq is coming from a small but influential minority of this country's elite, which has begun to speak out openly against what they say are mistakes and pitfalls the king should have avoided.

"I would have condemned the invasion and Iraq from Day One," a Jordanian senator said. He said the king tried to call Saddam Hus-

sein at 6 A.M. on the day of the invasion, hoping to reason with him, upon being alerted by Saudi Arabia of the Iraqi thrust into Kuwait.

"Saddam did not come to the phone," the senator said. "His majesty called again at 9. He still could not speak with the Iraqi president. They did not hear until 1 in the afternoon, and by then it was all over. I don't see how such an infringement was going to be employed to cater to Arab needs."

The king has privately complained in recent days to one confidant of the difficulties he has encountered in dealing with Saddam Hussein and explaining his actions to the world when he chooses to act independently and without advance notice on vital and dangerous matters.

Iranian with the Iraqi leader's blitz tactics in the early stages is beginning to show despite his unquestionable popularity among a broad range of Jordanian society.

Some politicians, businessmen and individuals are beginning to express reservations, according to Taher Masri, head of a parliamentary committee on foreign relations.

"The mainstream and the great majority of Jordanians still support Saddam, but people are beginning to think in terms of Jordan," Mr. Masri said. "The economic damage we expect is going to be devastating. Tens of thousands of Jordanians who used to work in Kuwait are now among us with their families, their cars, their problems and their worries."

Plenty of Sweat but No Blood or Tears for Desert Reporters

By Michael R. Gordon

New York Times Service

IN SAUDI ARABIA—At the combined Joint Information Bureau, the sign-up sheets for the day's press activities have long been filled.

The 5:30 A.M. trip to a spot where a group of Marines is deployed north of here was filled long ago. The sign-up sheet for the midday background briefing by a senior Western diplomat, limited to 10 participants, has a list of names that run down the sheet and onto the other side of the paper.

This is how both the waiting press and reporters for television and radio cover the deployment of American forces in Saudi Arabia.

The result is news reports that are long on accounts of sweaty troops in the desert but do little to explain how, or whether, the American military can fulfill

its mission of defending Saudi Arabia.

After hearing the press clamor to be admitted to Saudi Arabia, the Saudis have partly opened the floodgates. Last week, about 80 reporters were registered at the information center. Now the number is 250 and is climbing.

The journalists are in the hotels, and the troops are in the desert.

To see the troops in the field, a reporter relies on the good graces of public affairs officers, press officers, back and the sign-up sheet. The public affairs office, with a staff of 16, operates 24 hours a day, functioning as a kind of combination travel agency and military escort.

Journalists must be escorted on trips to the field. Once there, the reporters are free to talk to soldiers. The problems lie first in getting there and then in staying with the soldiers long enough to break down the barriers.

But the strict rules imposed by the military for reporters working here also change the nature of the reporting. The most basic questions go unanswered.

"The big thing that is missing is exactly what they do not want us to know—where the troops are, how many there are and what they are going to do," said Peter M. Copeland, the Pentagon correspondent for Scripps Howard News Service.

Even when reporters manage to learn about deployments here, they are not allowed to publish much of the information. Reporters are prohibited from mentioning the number of troops or even the location of large installations well known to the Iraqis. The prohibitions are spelled out in a series of rules that reporters are given when they register at the information center to cover the American military forces here.

The club the military uses to enforce

these rules is this: no more access to the troops.

Captain Michael Sherman, who runs the information center, says the restrictions are needed to keep secret information that Iraq could use against the United States. Some reporters acknowledge that the initial deployment of American troops here was so small that disclosure of deployment information might have invited attack.

But as the American forces have grown and the military has become more secure in its ability to carry out its mission, the brass has done little to explain the big picture. There are, as yet, no regular briefings. Interviews and meetings with senior military commanders are rare.

All of which has led some reporters to observe that the insular, tradition-bound Saudis are more open than the Americans.

"I think the Saudis are more open than

the U.S. military people," said John Fialka, a correspondent with The Wall Street Journal, who said the Saudis had arranged meetings with top intelligence, Foreign Ministry and military officials.

"The U.S. military is very wary of producing commanders," he said.

Operating with staff members from the Saudi Embassy in Washington, the Saudis have also begun to arrange trips to the field, such as a recent expedition to see Arab troops near the border.

The foreign reporters, for their part, have not always properly reciprocated the Saudi hospitality, and on occasions have been downright unruly. When Defense Secretary Dick Cheney visited a major air base here, a surge of television crews and other members of the press, jostled Brigadier General Turki ibn Nasser, the commander of the base and a member of the Saudi royal family, who retreated to a nearby bus.

MOSCOW: U.S. and Arab Forces Under Separate Commands

Delay in Pullout

(Continued from page 1)

bilize the whole region" when President Saddam Hussein of Iraq invaded Kuwait and created a military conflict.

Asked about the possibility that hard-line Soviet military leaders might be acting without the full knowledge of President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the official indicated that Western governments had not seen any evidence that the military was trying to embarrass the political leadership.

The crisis, which could have inflamed Soviet conservatives' opposition, has apparently been handled domestically by Mr. Gorbachev skillfully enough, the NATO official said, so that there has been no slowdown in moves toward East-West accommodation in Europe.

Soviet concern about the dangers of hostilities in the Gulf were voiced Monday by Gennadi I. Gerasimov, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, who said that the U.S. decision Monday to expel Iraqi diplomats could accelerate "the spiral of escalation and aggravate the situation."

Mr. Gerasimov reiterated that Moscow was seeking to "punish the aggressor" and force Iraq out of Kuwait. He said that, although the Soviet experts in Iraq were legally not violating the arms embargo, "there is a moral aspect to that problem, so we recognize that and are looking into it."

In explaining Moscow's attitudes in the crisis, NATO officials have stressed the impact of Soviet strategists' reluctance to assume military burdens of any kind—either taking sides in a regional conflict or even playing an assertive role in enforcing the embargo.

Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze offered an insight when he said that the Soviet Union was backing the Security Council resolution authorizing force to apply sanctions "because other countries are able to carry it out."

By David B. Ottaway

Washington Post Service

RIYADH—Saudi Arabia has set up separate commands to coordinate Arab and American troops in the kingdom and has obtained a commitment from President George Bush to consult King Fahd before launching any action against Iraq from Saudi territory.

The top Saudi officer for both commands said Tuesday.

Lieutenant General Khalid ibn Sultan, the commander of the Saudi air defense forces, said that American troops would remain under a separate U.S.-Saudi command but would coordinate closely with Arab and other forces that have been placed under his overall command.

But he left unclear whether there was any agreement among all the Arab, Islamic, American and European forces assembling here and elsewhere in the Gulf about what would constitute an Iraqi provocation triggering either a separate or joint response or under what circumstances the Arabs would join an American-Saudi attack on Iraqi forces in Kuwait.

As more and more nations send troops, planes and ships here, the question of who commands whom and how any military activities are to be coordinated has become murkier. Also unclear is how any possible unilateral American action or a U.S.-Saudi one would affect the Arab and other Western forces stationed here.

General Khalid, making his first appearance before Western reporters since Iraq invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2, was bombarded with questions about command structure and decision making among the various Arab, Asian and Western forces involved in Saudi Arabia's defense.

He is not only commander of the Joint Arab-Islamic Forces, made up of troops from Morocco, Egypt, Syria, Bangladesh, five other Arab Gulf states and mujahidin from Afghanistan, but is also the Saudi counterpart of the leader of the U.S. Central Command, Lieutenant General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, on the Saudi-U.S. command.

Asked whether the Saudis or the Americans were in command, General Khalid said that in military

tactics there were "always areas of responsibilities," but he refused to go further into the question. "Otherwise, we are letting the enemy know what's our plan," he said.

But he said that he and General Schwarzkopf were coordinating "very closely" and knew "exactly what to do if a crisis occurs."

In reply to a question whether the United States had to consult with Saudi Arabia before taking any unilateral action, General Khalid replied, "I'm sure that any action done from Saudi soil—I know for a fact that it has to be consulted about between King Fahd and President Bush."

General Khalid said he was unable to say whether the Joint Arab-Islamic Forces would become involved in a U.S. or an American-Saudi attack on Iraqi forces in Kuwait and Iraq. "It has to be discussed," he said.

But he seemed to disagree with the U.S. Senate's Armed Services Committee's chairman, Sam Nunn of Georgia, who said Monday that there were not enough Arab, particularly Egyptian, forces here.

"I can say that we have sufficient

troops between all the forces," he said.

Asked whether Saudi Arabia, the United States had Britain had agreed on what would constitute an Iraqi threat or provocation, General Khalid said that they had agreed to defer the question to Mr. Bush, King Fahd and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

He sidestepped a question whether Saudi military planners agreed with those American officials who were urging a massive strike against Iraq if war broke out, saying only that "I'm sure we have to react quickly."

General Khalid made it clear that plans had already been set in motion to considerably expand the Saudi armed forces and weapons purchases.

"Saudi Arabia never planned in the past that we would be faced with conflicts with Iraq," he said. "We thought that they were our brothers."

"I can see a problem for us in the future," he said, adding that "we have to increase our capabilities, and we will."

He said the Saudis had begun discussing the matter of new arms

BAGHDAD: Death in New Jersey Further Maroons a Hostage in Iraq

(Continued from page 1)

getting this fast. They'd better do something quick out there to solve it."

Lines have started forming for bread in the early mornings and late afternoons. Sugar and powdered milk are also in short supply, and a U.S. group met Monday night to make contingency plans for getting food.

The anxiety has affected the Americans in a variety of ways. Mr. Cerro's friend Tom, who narrowly escaped being taken hostage in Iran in 1979, having fled Tehran by bus a week after the shah fell, says he thinks the worsening situation justifies quick military action.

"I think confrontation is the best

immediate possibility of getting us out of here," he said. "In my mind, any confrontation is going to be strategic and decisive and successful in removing Saddam Hussein. If you remove the threat behind that fear by direct confrontation, then the bulk of the population will relax, and so will the crisis."

He shares Mr. Cerro's feelings about the Iraqi people, but there is another dimension to his position. "I don't want America to lose focus," Tom said. "The focus should be on Kuwait, not on us. Not on me. I don't want to be a hostage, but we're a secondary issue. In the Carter administration, we lost sight of what was happening in Iran and focused entirely on

the hostages, and that was wrong."

"I'd like to walk across the border tonight, but, today, Saddam Hussein has crossed into Kuwait and he's taken it, and that's the reality the world must focus on."

He said the hostages "have all these anxieties because we have all this information coming in."

"If we lose our balance, it will be because we're inundated with information from all sides," he said. "The ordinary hostage is very strictly controlled in his access to information, and his keepers feed it to him gradually. I think that's easier."

As he spoke, Mr. Cerro listened, picking out chords on his guitar.

But when Tom stopped talking, Mr. Cerro began.

"O.K.," he said. "It's been kind of spooky for a week or two here, with two people with big armies shouting at each other nose-to-nose. But if you think about stuff like that, you go absolutely crazy."

But he had thought it through, especially since the call about his father. "My overall feeling is, I don't want to go home on an exit visa only," he said. "I want a re-entry visa attached to it. I like this country very much. My feelings have not changed. I'm still enjoying it now. I just hope that nothing changes. And I'm more than willing to sit it out and let diplomacy take its course."

Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

The Embargo Can Work

Trade embargoes have often proved feeble instruments of coercion. Those who favor quick military action against Iraq argue that the present blockade won't work, or will take many months to bite. They may be right.

Yet this blockade is already unique in its worldwide support and breadth. Iraq is uniquely vulnerable. The Bush administration continues daily to detect and plug holes. And victory may not require bringing the Iraqi economy to its knees. Perhaps more than any comparable action this century, the embargo against Iraq can work — provided that those who demand instant military solutions are held at bay.

Other embargoes had fatal flaws. The League of Nations approved sanctions to punish Mussolini for invading Ethiopia, but then failed to deny oil to Italy. The United Nations embargoed oil shipments to Rhodesia, which obtained its supplies through South Africa instead. But the siege of Iraq falls in a quite different category from those half-measures.

Oil and refined products account for 97 percent of Iraq's export earnings. But Baghdad cannot now sell a drop of oil. Its pipelines through Saudi Arabia and Turkey are blocked, and its tankers will now be denied passage through the Gulf. If necessary by force, Iraq's income has dwindled close to zero, and its financial assets abroad are frozen.

Even if Iraq could pay for any imports, its shipping routes are blocked and little is coming in by air, since many countries as part of the economic blockade have can-

celed flights to Iraq and denied it their airspace. The United States is making every effort to close all loopholes as soon as it learns of them. Land routes, including local trade with Jordan and Syria and smugglers' routes through Iran, are still open but probably provide a tiny fraction of Iraq's present needs.

Iraq does have some stockpiles of food, including three months' worth of rice and two months' wheat, and is expecting a good harvest. It is also true that the shared sacrifice of a siege often boosts morale, at least to start with. But homegrown food and hope will last only so far. The current sanctions have a substantial chance of forcing Saddam to the belief that he cannot win.

It is also essential that Saddam continue to feel that he has no way around the embargo, especially no military alternative. That is why it is critical to continue the buildup of American and other forces in the area. Its effects were demonstrated when U.S. officials disclosed on Monday that, in a policy reversal, he had instructed his merchant ships not to resist naval inspection.

The blockade still may prove unsuccessful, if Iraq can stretch out its stockpiles and develop local supplies — or if the will of the world community wavers. But there is little basis now for supposing either eventuality. Iraq soon will find it painfully difficult to operate without imports. And for the embargo to achieve its purposes, it may not be necessary to bring Iraq's economy to a halt, let alone cause starvation in the streets of Baghdad. The pain for Iraq does not have to be total; it only has to be enough.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

Negotiate With Baghdad?

One goal of the extraordinary coalition that Iraq's invasion forged, the defense of Saudi Arabia, has already been accomplished without diplomacy by military action alone. But, barring some incident or escalation, in which case all bets are off, the coalition's second goal of liberating Kuwait seems unlikely to be reached by military means. It will take pressure from the coalition of Iraq's adversaries and, in consequence, Iraqi consent. This is the essential diplomatic goal now.

To achieve it, some say that Iraq should be paid off — by debt forgiveness and new grants, for instance, or by keeping the old Kuwaiti government from resuming power. To enter a negotiation offering to pay off the aggressor, however, is unthinkable. The position affirmed by a unanimous United Nations, that withdrawal should be immediate and unconditional, is the right one. That leaves to negotiation the timetable and modalities of withdrawal. Iraq's concerns — the embargo, the military buildup, what else — come after that.

The prospect of negotiation is also forcing the issue of whether to add further goals to the diplomats' instructions, like removing Saddam Hussein or defanging Iraq's military power, especially its chemical and

nuclear facilities. A realistic view of Iraq's menacing nature has been spread by the crisis, and is cited by those who would lengthen the list of negotiating goals. The additional objectives are immensely desirable. To add them now, however, could outpace and dilute the policy consensus developed at the United Nations and perhaps the American domestic consensus as well, giving the Iraqis extra incentive to hang tough. More study is needed of the alternatives to isolating Iraq until its leadership falls and its war-making capacity is neutralized. A political shift in Baghdad is one possibility. Construction of new Gulf regional security arrangements is another; this is going to be necessary anyway.

Meanwhile, there is the elementary problem of credibility. That Iraq promised to let 55 Americans go to Turkey, and held back three, is typical of the treachery it has displayed through the crisis. Saddam Hussein comes into this new diplomatic round with a real problem, beyond the problems imposed by the allied buildup, embargo and resistance. Nobody trusts him and nobody believes him. If there is going to be any kind of negotiation at all, he is the one with the proving to do.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

The Oil Roller Coaster

Oil dealers and speculators have apparently decided that there will not be a war in the Gulf this week. Oil prices, having shot upward by \$10 a barrel since the invasion of Kuwait, swooped back downward on Monday by \$4. That latest change is nice for the industrial world, since winter is coming, but will the present price hold? Hardly. It is going to continue to fluctuate with every new development — the OPEC talks this week in Vienna, even military moves in the Middle East, every change in production policy by any major exporter.

But these swings are highly disruptive to the world's economy. Financial markets bounce wildly up and down. It's bad for the kind of steady, reliable economic growth that every government tries to maintain. Brace yourself, therefore, for a flood of bright ideas to stabilize oil prices. Unfortunately, most have already been tried and found to do more harm than good. Price controls? Richard Nixon tried them in 1971, and the experiment turned into an unqualified disaster. The oil shortages of the 1970s and the gasoline lines were the result not of OPEC price increases but of American price controls.

Oil markets work very much like grain markets, and there are some lessons to be

learned from them. Government-owned grain surpluses do a lot to steady the prices of food, and the presence of the 590 million barrels of oil in the U.S. government's strategic reserves have helped damp the speculative swings in oil this summer. But the United States is unlikely ever to hold oil reserves large enough to operate as reserves do in the grain markets, opening automatically when the price hits a certain level.

The intractable reality is that one-fourth of the world's oil production, and two-thirds of its known reserves, are in the countries that border the Gulf. Stabilizing world oil prices is impossible without stabilizing the politics of the Gulf region, a prospect which is as improbable as it is desirable. Perhaps it will happen sometime in the second half of the next century. In the meantime, the United States and all the industrial countries can best give a measure of protection to their economies by steadily cutting down the amounts of oil they use. How? The most effective device — you have heard it before, and it's still true — is a tax on gasoline. But Americans have evidently not yet suffered enough disruption and economic distress to make the gas tax, in political terms, a real possibility.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

Other Comment

Link Up for Hydrogen Fusion

East Asia as a whole may be getting 90 percent of its oil from Gulf producers in 10 years. In the end, everyone is going to need energy less monopolized by a geopolitical earthquake zone as well as more abundant, cheaper and cleaner. The last qualification cannot be ignored. Even if you don't believe in global atmospheric warming, humanity's wholesale burning of fossil fuels is certainly fouling our planetary nest.

Experiments like Brazil's use of sugarcane alcohol deserve wider attention in searches for vehicle fuels. Though subsidized, Brazil's alternative has cut import costs and created thousands of new jobs. Solar and wind power and synthetic fuels — all of these appealing newcomers of a decade ago which were largely dropped once oil became cheap again —

also deserve more than 15 minutes of fame. But they will probably never completely replace fossil fuels, especially for electricity. The cooperation Moscow has shown in efforts to quell the Gulf crisis ought to be tapped for something far more beneficial than a manned flight to Mars. With the United States, Europe, Japan and perhaps Asia's other vanguard economies, the Soviets should join in a crash program to harness hydrogen fusion, which can theoretically provide almost endless amounts of nonradioactive, cheap power for a million years. As things stand, fusion may not be licked for another half-century, if at all. But even if it proves an impossible dream, such international teamwork promises to focus the world's energies on a problem it cannot afford to forget.

— AsiaWeek (Hong Kong)

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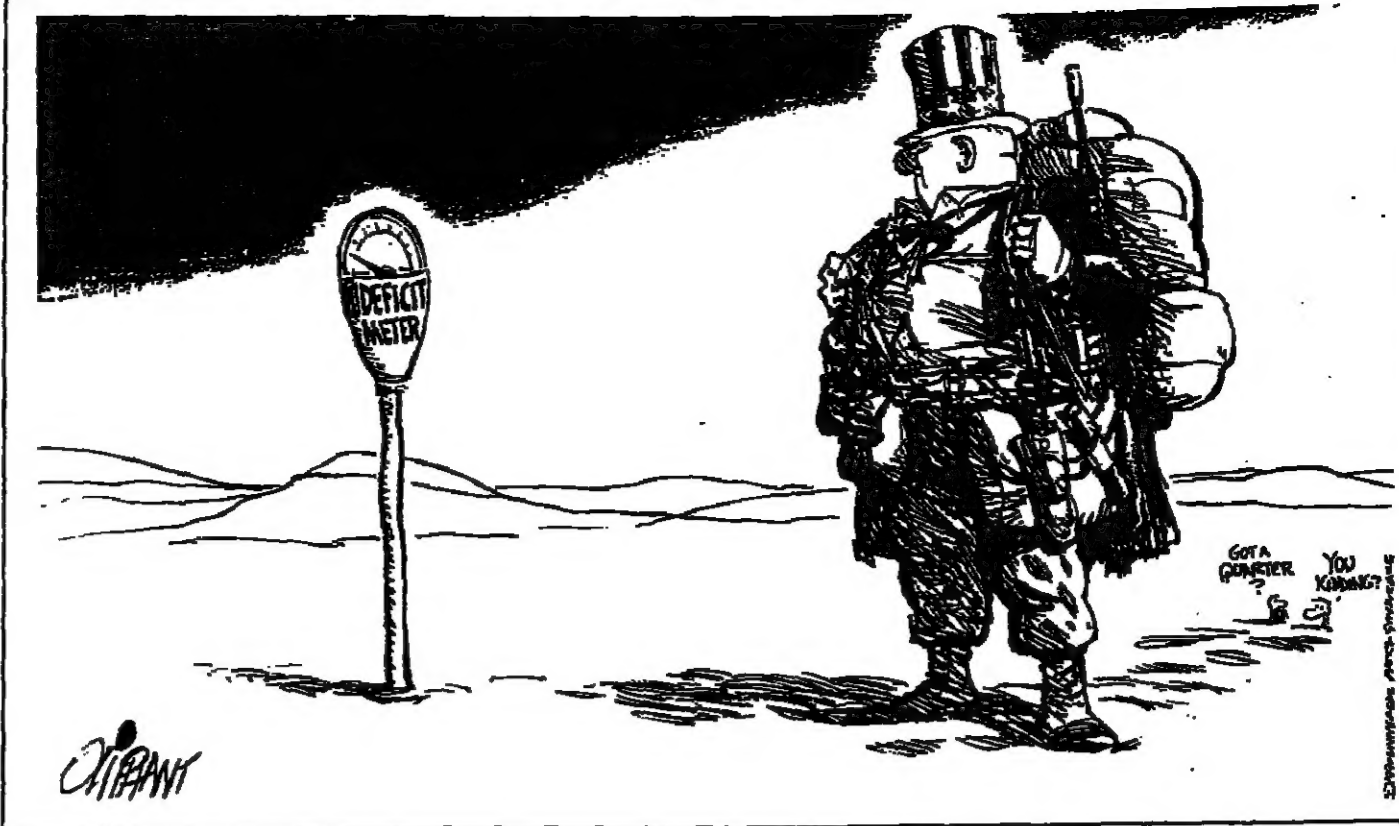
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OPINION



Moscow Can Help in the Gulf — and Be Helped

By Flora Lewis

VENICE — The Security Council vote endorsing military enforcement of the United Nations blockade on Iraq was an impressive feat of diplomacy. It not only strengthened the international coalition against President Saddam Hussein, it blocked the temptation of American hawks to plunge into war.

The way the Gulf crisis is resolved is going to have deep impact on the conduct of world affairs for a long time. Instead of confirming the United States as leading partner of all who seek a peaceful world order, going it alone could have reversed the remarkable consensus that creates a new weapon for peace.

Participants at a meeting here of Aspen Institute Italia on "Economic Policies for a New East: West-West and East-West" reflected widespread relief that the era probably will not start with a bang after all. The meeting was planned long ago, but everybody came preoccupied with Iraq, oil and the questions they provoked.

A major gain so far has been the advance in American-Soviet diplomatic cooperation. Paul Nitze, former U.S. arms negotiator, has called for using the momentum to speed up more far-reaching arms reduction agreements. Mr. Nitze was once a prominent member of the "Committee on the Present Danger," critical of most deals with the Soviets. Now he says that President George Bush "should try radically to improve the bases for U.S.-Soviet collaboration."

That is a turnaround. Mr. Nitze's careful proposals should weigh against the peculiar idea that the Gulf threat makes further arms control and

drastic restructuring of American forces undesirable. This crisis is in part a result of the global arms race, and should argue instead for a much sterner, broader attempt to block it everywhere.

The Soviets seem willing. Moscow is eager to reinforce the United Nations as the center for action. "Everything that can be done through international or multilateral means should be done that way, and everything we do we should do together," said a Soviet diplomat, meaning that the United States and the Soviets should always consult and can probably agree on measures to take. There are some crucial contributions that Moscow can make right now to advance resolution of the crisis. They are delicate and might have to be discreet, but they are a new test.

They concern intelligence. There are still several hundred Soviet military technicians in Iraq. They probably know where the hostages are. More important, Moscow knows all about Iraqi forces, air defenses, missiles, equipment, most of it Soviet-made. That information will not disarm Saddam Hussein, but it must greatly undermine his confidence if he has to suppose that America has it.

Most important, no intelligence service anywhere has the KGB's intimate knowledge of Iraqi politics, especially the rivalries and fault lines within the military and police establishments, some of them also organized by former East European security services.

The one way to avoid war is for the Iraqis

themselves to bring down their dictator. It is an illusion to think that outside pressure can induce Saddam to pull out of Kuwait and let his forces be neutralized. That would be failure, and he knows that his people would not let him survive a show of impotence. He would more likely sacrifice them.

So the key is to convince others that their chance of survival is to get rid of him, lest they go down with him. He came to power through a coup. It is not an alien idea in Iraq. There is always hidden opposition, secret cliques in a tyranny. They need to be given a sense that they have more to gain than to lose in risking an overthrow. The West, including Israel's wanted Mossad, knows very little about the hidden intricacies of Saddam's regime. Moscow can get word to the right people.

It is wrong to suppose that the Soviets have an interest in prolonged crisis because of the windfall in high oil prices. It helps them, but not nearly enough to solve their foreign currency shortage, and their production has been declining sharply in the past two years. Prices will remain high anyway, and Western recession would hurt them, too. What they need is improved production.

Before the Gulf crisis, Prime Minister Rudi Lubben of the Netherlands proposed technical aid to improve the Soviet oil industry as a way to help East European democracies that will have to pay hard currency for imports next year. West Europeans like the idea. The United States should support it. That would be yet another innovative example of cooperation for mutual and general benefit. It is a new era. The Soviets need help and they can contribute.

The New York Times

What Is King Hussein Doing in the Saddam Camp?

By Gideon Rafael

JERUSALEM — For a quarter of a century in his 37-year reign, King Hussein has been on speaking terms with all the governments of Israel. The contacts have served both countries as a weather vane indicating the direction and the strength of the wind, mostly ill winds, tossing the Middle East. Both sides had an intimate understanding of each other's aspirations, anxieties and capabilities.

In times of high tension, the contacts acted as lightning rods. In the rare intervals of calm, they permitted discussion of the outline of an eventual peace settlement between Jordan, Israel and the Palestinians.

If the exchanges of view on a peace settlement remained inconclusive, it was in part because of the king's inclination to avoid clear-cut decisions. He feels safer balancing on a diplomatic seesaw than proceeding straight forward toward his principal objective, the preservation of his dynasty in an independent Hashemite Kingdom.

In picking his allies he has never been particularly choosy if the continuation of his rule was at stake. In 1970, in the hour of his gravest peril, he

invoked Israel's military aid when Yasser Arafat and his cohorts, assisted by the Syrian army, rose to overthrow him. Six years later he urged Israel, this time on behalf of President Hafez Assad, not to intervene against the Syrian forces entering Lebanon with the professed aim of combating Mr. Arafat's rampaging gangs.

After another six years the king found himself again at loggerheads with Mr. Assad and in fraternal embrace with Mr. Arafat. Later, in 1986, exasperated by Mr. Arafat's duplicity, the king declared: "The lack of credibility on the part of the PLO warrants Jordan's decision to terminate political cooperation with the PLO."

Now, at the height of the gravest crisis the Middle East has experienced, King Hussein has aligned himself with Mr. Arafat and Moslem Cadhafi against Saudi Arabia, Syria and Egypt. It is hard to believe that he really feels able to weather the gathering storm in the company of this odd couple. Has he become so enthralled with playing both ends against the

middle that he has lost sight of reality? The present confrontation is completely different from the traditional Middle Eastern conflicts and rivalries from which he has managed to extricate himself with considerable skill.

He has not been immune from miscalculation. His error in 1967, when he jumped on Nasser's ill-fated bandwagon and attacked Israel despite the Israeli prime minister's appeal to keep out of the war, cost him the West Bank, which his grandfather had conquered in 1948. He was never able to recover it, by war or by diplomacy, refusing to emerge from covert contacts to overt negotiations with Israel.

Saddam Hussein's brutal aggression against an Arab state has mobilized the strongest coalition in this century, wider than the alliance that confronted Hitler, Germany and Japan are siding with the Western world, and the Soviet Union, which supported Hitler until he attacked it in 1941, sustains now the world community in its action against the outlaw of Baghdad.

The most bizarre feature of his pro-

sent conduct is the abandoning of his traditional regional relations. By his wooing of Saddam Hussein he has jeopardized the financial support of the Gulf states, his principal paymasters; antagonized Egypt, the main force for stability in the region; encumbered his uneasy relations with Syria, and aroused Israel, a traditional supporter of the Hashemite dynasty and a reliable pillar of strength in times of King Hussein's need.

His association with Saddam Hussein, who has threatened to wipe out Israel with poison gas, endangers not only Israel but no less the security of Jordan. The government of Israel has made clear that it will oppose the deployment of Iraqi forces and military installations in Jordan. With or without Saddam Hussein at its head, Iraq has participated in all the wars against Israel. It has never signed an armistice agreement or any other commitment to desist from active hostility.

The government of Israel, while not concealing its alarm, has publicly and privately reassured King Hussein as to its continued interest in the stability of his regime and the security of his country. Experienced observers, who give the king high marks for political astuteness and tactical agility, wonder why he has embarked on this dangerous course. Has he lost his grip in the face of popular discontent fanned by professional agitators? Does he think he can ride the Iraqi tiger and might when he chooses, unscathed? This would be a fatal error.

It is not too late for King Hussein, who is known for his personal courage, to return to his natural political environment and regain his friends, who, in association with the most powerful and enlightened nations of the world, offer the best guarantee for the continuation of his reign in a prosperous, secure and independent Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

The writer is a former director of the Israel Foreign Ministry and ambassador to the United Nations, and the author of "Destination Peace — Three Decades of Israeli Foreign Policy." He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

Don't Take Chairman Arafat Seriously

By Menachem Z. Rosensaft

SAN REMO, Italy — Yasser Arafat the peacemaker is a fraud. By supporting Saddam Hussein and repudiating moderate Arab backers of the Palestinian cause such as Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization reveals his true colors.

His goal is Palestinian conquest of Israel, by whatever means, just as Saddam Hussein's goal is domination of the entire Middle East.

It follows that Mr. Arafat's current diplomatic initiatives concerning the Gulf crisis should be dismissed as disingenuous verbiage.

The same goes for a letter I recently received from Chairman Arafat. In December 1988, I was one of five American Jews who met Yasser Arafat and other PLO leaders in Stockholm. After those discussions, Mr. Arafat for the first time publicly recognized Israel and renounced terrorism. I believed then, and I continue to believe, that any viable Middle East peace initiative must seek to satisfy both Israel's security concerns and the Palestinians' legitimate national aspirations. The PLO's declared new policy was therefore a welcome development.

But Mr. Arafat has never truly committed himself to carrying out his Stockholm pledges. His subse-

quent pronouncements on the peace process have been ambiguous at best. He has taken no steps to halt the summary execution of West Bank and Gaza Palestinians accused of "collaborating" with Israel. He has refused to condemn the May 30 terrorist attack on the beach of Tel Aviv by a PLO faction whose head sits on the PLO executive.

In a letter to me, Mr. Arafat writes that the PLO has made "a historical compromise which is the cornerstone of any just solution" to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He accuses Israel of rejecting all peace initiatives. Israel "has to make a similar historical compromise."

The tone of the letter is positive. But Mr. Arafat still does not seem to understand that recognition of Israel and renunciation of terrorism — which constitute his "compromise" — are not tactical concessions but the minimum, unconditional prerequisites for acceptability into the international community. Israel's right to exist and the sanctity of civilian lives are not negotiable. Any suggestion to the contrary lends weight to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's absolute rejection of the PLO as a potential negotiating partner.

I agree that Israel must recognize Palestinians' fundamental human

rights, including the right to political self-determination. But not at any cost. Israel's survival and the safety of its citizens take priority. If the PLO wants to play a credible role in the diplomatic arena, it must affirmatively cease flirtation with terror.

In his letter, Mr. Arafat omitted any reference to continued PLO terrorist activities. He could have used the occasion to repudiate the May 30 raid. His deliberate silence on the subject leads to the conclusion that his renunciation of terrorism may be revocable. If so, it is meaningless.

As for the recognition of Israel, it is put into question by Mr. Arafat's letterhead. He writes as president of the "State of Palestine," as well as PLO chairman. Prominent at the top of each page is an emblem featuring a map of the entire territory between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River, including all of Israel.

Continued use of the controversial emblem appears designed to reassure Mr. Arafat's more radical constituents that a future state will embrace not only the West Bank and Gaza, which Israel has occupied since 1967, but Tel Aviv and Haifa as well. The PLO's vision of a Palestinian state thus negates Israel's continued existence.

After the Stockholm meeting, I was sharply attacked by Israeli leaders and by many of my American Jewish colleagues for supposedly enhancing Mr. Arafat's credibility. I responded at the time that if the PLO's metamorphosis was authentic, it presented a unique opportunity to move the peace process forward. I believed that Yasser Arafat should be put to the test. His June 25 letter and his alliance with Saddam Hussein demonstrate that he has failed it.

The writer is president of the Labor Zionist Alliance in the United States. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

'Realists' Are Missing The Point

By Joshua Muravchik

WASHINGTON — So far, the chief American critics of George Bush's bold military action in the Middle East are not liberals but conservatives like Patrick Buchanan, Robert Novak, Edward Lattimore and Senator Sam Nunn — yesterday's most redoubtable hawks and interventionists. Strange new world!

The sudden disappearance of the Cold War has pulled the rationale out from under the internationalist foreign policy that America has pursued for 40 years. With a victory over communism behind it, why care what happens to the Emirate of Kuwait?

One answer is oil, but the larger answer that has resonated in President Bush's statements is collective security. No longer divided automatically along East-West lines, the community of nations is joining to repulse an unmistakable act of aggression — just as President Woodrow Wilson hoped it would when he decreed by the League of Nations.

When we recognize in Mr. Bush's policy the heritage of that liberal Democratic president, whose name is synonymous with woolly-headed idealism, we begin to understand why the Buchanans, Nuns and Novaks are alarmed. They see themselves not as isolationists but as realists. They do not want to spend American treasure and lives unless clear American interests are at stake.

With the collapse of Soviet power, however, the difference between "realism" and isolationism is evaporating. When America is the world's

Collective security is getting a new trial.

only superpower, nothing threatens it directly. All plausible threats are indirect, and most are a lot more remote than the prospect of a belligerent, anti-Western tyrant gaining hegemony over the world petroleum trade. That even such stakes as these leave the conservative realists skeptical of American action shows how close to isolationist their sensibility is.

The last time America found itself in such an impregnable situation was in the immediate aftermath of World War I. The Kaiser had been defeated. New democracies were being erected on the ruins of old empires. Mussolini and Hitler were marginal eccentrics. Bolshevism scared some people, but most regarded it as an aberration.

No wonder America's isolationists succeeded in defeating President Wilson's visionary schemes. Thanks in part to their prudence, within 20 years Americans were fighting for their lives.

In the collective memory, Wilsonian idealism shares blame equally with isolationism for that disaster. The system of collective security that he staked came crashing down as soon as it was tested by the Japanese in Manchuria and then by Mussolini in Abyssinia.

But was Woodrow Wilson's vision faulty? Or did the fault lie with the isolationists who, by keeping America out of the League of Nations, made collective security a hollow shell while the aggressors gathered strength?

The UN-sponsored mission to restore Kuwait's independence gives the idea of collective security a new trial. Thanks to forceful U.S. leadership, the effort is likely to succeed. Without it the United Nations would be as feeble as the League was in the 1930s.

Success will set a valuable precedent. But a single case will not prove that collective security can become the basis of world order, and the UN charter more than a dead letter. At the time when the United States can relinquish the prerogative of acting unilaterally to defend its interests or principles is not yet on the horizon.

But where Mr. Bush is right, as was Wilson, is on the principle of investing U.S. power in the effort to fashion an environment congenial to its long-term safety by enforcing a modicum of lawfulness in relations among states.

An implicit assumption is that we cannot know what threats may lurk in the post-Communist world any more than we could foresee in 1920 the strength of Nazism or communism. A corollary is that American abdication would encourage such threats to grow.

The realist-isolationist world, either back in America's status as the sole surviving superpower and avoid the risk and expense of policing the world. There will be time enough to act, they will say, when some local quarrel or bully grows large enough to present a clear danger. And so there was after the attack on Pearl Harbor, too.

The writer, resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, contributed this to The New York Times.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1890: Congo Corridor

LONDON — The *Bombay Gazette* gives definite shape to the rumor that an attempt would shortly be made to secure a British opening through the Congo State northwards. The *Gazette* says that there is a question of cession by the Congo Free State of a portion of the territory of that State to the British Government or, to be strictly accurate, to the Imperial British East Africa Company. The strip of territory will give the company access to Tanganyika without traveling across the German country.

1915: Russia Replies

PETROGRAD — Russia is now facing two attacks — one Germany's advance with her armies, and the other the far more serious German publicity campaign which is aimed to discourage with misinformation the Russian public. An emphatic denial of the rumors is made by M. Sazonov, the Russian Premier: "Taking these

ables against the character of our people and our Government in succession, I will state categorically that never at any time has there been the slightest difference of opinion between the high commands of the Allied armies. Absolute confidence prevails in the highest circles as to the actions taken by our Allies."

1940: Draft Bill Passed

WASHINGTON — After three weeks of historic debate the Senate tonight (Aug. 28) passed and sent to the House the Burke-Wadsworth compulsory military training bill which would make 12,000,000 men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one subject to registration for possible military training and service with the Army. Included in the bill was a provision permitting the President to conscript industrial and other plants when such action was deemed necessary for the defense program. — From the New York edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

OPINION

Americans Are Waking Up
To a Restive New World

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — Every night now the world goes to sleep knowing that dawn could bring the outbreak of war. Any one of a dozen easily imaginable incidents could start hostilities between Saddam Hussein of Iraq and the forces assembled under American leadership to punish his aggression and to contest his bid for control of the Middle East's oil supply.

That knowledge induces people to think seriously, and many of those I interviewed last week on a swing through New England were doing just that.

The government and the citizenry have been wallowing too long in unearned complacency. Their long snooze is over.

There is a lot to be learned. And the wretched 30-second television ads in the political campaigns now under way are not the way to learn it.

Two sets of questions seem certain to be on the agenda, even if a way is found to deal with Saddam Hussein and avoid military casualties and hostage deaths. It is obvious that the United States has undertaken a vastly enlarged commitment to the security of the Gulf states. How will that commitment be fulfilled and what will come in return — by way of guaranteed access to the region's oil at stable and predictable prices?

Now that the whole world has taken responsibility for peacekeeping in the Middle East, sovereignty in the region must be redefined. Neither OPEC price-setting nor Israeli treatment of Palestinians can be regarded any longer as "internal" decisions. But how the United States and its partners play their role remains to be determined.

Here in America, the long snooze over energy policy has been ended. In an increasingly interlocked world, it makes no sense for the United States to price oil and gas far below the level of other industrial nations. Raising that price by energy taxes, as a spur to conservation and development, must become a central part of a budget debate made much more urgent by the economy's evident tilt toward recession. But the type of energy taxes and their phasing-in need to be carefully considered.

The Gulf crisis has provided a wake-up call for a government and a citizenry that have been wallowing in unearned complacency. It also has shattered a dangerous myth and opened Americans' eyes to a neglected asset.

The myth is that the need for a strong military ended with the Cold War. If the Gulf crisis has proved anything, it is that Americans bought a lot more in the military buildup of the 1980s than the

overpriced toilet seats that Pentagon critics held up to constant ridicule. That buildup provided an airlift and sea-lift capacity that made the recent deployment of forces a logistic miracle, a navy that was able to impose a blockade on Iraq, and the active and reserve forces ready to undertake a mission that no one had anticipated. Fear of America's air and ground weaponry caused Saddam Hussein to halt his advance — and it will be the telling difference if war comes.

That needs to be borne in mind by those who would solve every budget problem by "whacking the Pentagon." This is surely not the last time when American military capacity will be tested in an area of vital national interest. Equally important has been the discovery of the role the United Nations can play in mobilizing world support — and legitimizing what might otherwise be seen as a national struggle between an established power and an upstart challenger.

During the long Cold War years, the Soviet veto and the hostility of many Third World states made the United Nations an object of scorn to many American politicians and citizens. But in today's altered environment it has proved to be an effective instrument of world leadership and potentially an agency that can effect both peace and the rule of law in troubled regions.

Americans have also learned something about President George Bush in this crisis. His great strength is his remarkable combination of courage, collegiality and self-effacement. He showed the capacity to enlist support from other key players throughout the world by consulting widely, by demonstrating his readiness to act and take risks, and by doing it with such modesty that all of them felt like partners, not pawns.

Those are the skills that could open the path to success in domestic policy as well, particularly in an era of divided government. Those in his circle who press the president to be more partisan or domineering do a disservice to him and to the United States.

There is also a negative lesson about Mr. Bush. He has a strong tendency to adhere rigidly to previous plans — even when circumstances change radically. He would probably call it keeping his commitments. But the determination to take his previously scheduled vacation in Kennebunkport, Maine, despite the international crisis, is the same tunnel-vision obstinacy that led him to insist in 1980 in Nashua, New Hampshire, that he would debate only Ronald Reagan, as he had promised to do, and not the other four Republican candidates who showed up that fateful night in the 1980 primaries.

The result then was politically disastrous. This time his stubbornness is only mildly embarrassing. But unless it is overcome, it could cause both Mr. Bush and the country problems again.

The Washington Post



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Gulf: The Israeli Factor

It would be a crime if even one American soldier were to be killed in the Gulf because of the past grumblings of the Soviet Union, the United States, France and Israel; the greed of Arab oil barons; and the intransigence of Israel regarding negotiations with the Palestinians.

One bold solution would allow everyone to save face: Israel should immediately declare its intention to negotiate with the Palestinians and the Arab world. Saddam Hussein could then say that he had attained an important goal, and Israel would be relieved of the *intifada* and eventually be blessed with peace.

JOHN F. WILLIAMS, Providence, Rhode Island.

Does not the "civilized" world owe a debt of gratitude to Israel? Was not the 1981 preemptive strike against Iraq the best dividend Americans could have received for their financial support of Israel? Is there any doubt what Saddam Hussein would do with an atomic capability if he had it? Is this not the time to say thank you to Israel for being gutsy and far-sighted, probably saving uncounted lives?

HENRY GOLDSMITH, St-Sulpice, Switzerland.

I would nominate Menachem Begin for his second Nobel Peace Prize for having ordered the destruction of the Iraqi atomic-bomb factory, thereby saving mankind from an atomic holocaust at the hands of Saddam Hussein.

FRED LEHMANN, London.

Regarding the report "Israelis Advise a Massive U.S. Air Strike" (Aug. 18-19):

Israel appears to be trying to fish in troubled waters by prodding the United States to attack Iraq. In fact, Saddam Hussein apparently was emboldened to annex Kuwait partly by Israel's continuing occupation of the West Bank, against the wishes of most of the world.

This is by no means to condone Saddam Hussein's aggression. But if we are talking about a just world order, I see no inconsistency in his call for a withdrawal of ALL occupying forces in the region.

M. VASUDEVAN, Cannes.

Approaches to Colonialism

In response to the editorial "Handwriting on the Wall" (Aug. 14):

To describe the United States as a "shining achievement of the European Enlightenment's crusade against feudal monarchy" is a misuse of two nebulous historical concepts that have nothing to do with each other. To elevate a colonial revolt over taxation into part of some incoherent democratic world impulse reflects the blinkered attitude toward European "colonialism" that has often influenced U.S. foreign policy.

Anti-colonialism and democracy have nothing to do with each other, as recent African history shows. Had the United States supported Britain and France in Suez in 1956 (an action not in defense of colonialism but to deter Arab aggression) it might not be faced with the Saddam Hussein problem today.

J. R. CHILVER, London.

A Different Memory of Bettelheim

By Charles Pekow

WASHINGTON — Bruno Bettelheim's suicide this spring shocked his admirers, who came forth with generous eulogies. They recalled him as the hardy survivor of the Buchenwald and Dachau concentration camps, they spoke warmly of his books, and they applauded his guiding philosophy, influenced by Freud, which stressed emotional nurturing.

They also recalled how he took over the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School at the University of Chicago in 1944. (The Orthogenic School is a residential center for emotionally disturbed children, including those diagnosed as autistic, withdrawn, anorectic, severely neurotic or suicidal.) And they described him as a man known for the "originality, warmth and wisdom he brought to the study of the minds and emotions of children" (The Washington Post); and a "pioneer in treating childhood mental disturbances" (The New York Times).

My memories are of a different kind. The Bettelheim I knew was a man who, while publicly condemning violence, physically abused children. And the Orthogenic School I knew was an Orwellian world where most was censored and conversations monitored.

Mr. Bettelheim was co-author of a book on racism ("Social Change and Prejudice"), but he never admitted blacks to the school he directed for nearly 30 years; he told me once that they would feel isolated. He claimed to have

MEANWHILE

successfully rehabilitated 85 percent of hopelessly disturbed children, but no one ever checked his claims.

My knowledge comes from first-hand experience — a fact many of my friends will not know until now. I spent a decade at his school against my will, from age 11. I know the risks of talking about this. Those who complained about Mr. Bettelheim to the law or their parents were not taken seriously. And former patients are scared to reveal their past. I contacted many for this report, and almost all supported my endeavor. But most did not want their names used.

I also acknowledge that many credit him for helping them.

While I can speak only for myself, I do not think my experience was unusual.

I was sent to the school in 1955. Coordination problems made my handwriting nearly illegible, and I could not function in the public school system. Mr. Bettelheim's diagnosis was that I was "crazy," a favorite word around his school. He said that only he could cure me. My parents, friends of Mr. Bettelheim, never sought another opinion.

William Blau, a counselor at the school in 1949 and 1950, said that "there were a lot of kids with learning deficits that had nothing to do with emotional disturbance." He has referred to Mr. Bettelheim as a "cult leader."

Those who were going through normal adolescent growing pains were labeled as psychotic," said Alida Jatch, a former patient in the school.

Mr. Bettelheim's books described a world in which a child's every need was met in nonthreatening ways, where a kind staff answered troublesome behavior only with gentleness and understanding, where Freudian therapists helped children understand their feelings.

Tom Lyons, who spent 11 years at the school and wrote about it in a 1983 autobiographical novel, "The Pelican & After," believes that the school helped him in some ways, but he also remembers a world of terror and restrictions. "Love is Not Enough" described therapeutic value in letting boys overrule teachers. But when Tom Lyons did it, he recalled recently, Mr. Bettelheim hit him.

In four books about the school, Mr. Bettelheim never mentioned hitting. But he created a climate of fear. Once, after a boy returned from a visit home, Mr. Bettelheim spent five minutes slapping him, hitting him and pulling his hair. The lad, Mr. Bettelheim said, had told his brother to "do well in school." He had no right to "push" his brother around.

To be sure, the blows he struck, though often painful and humiliating,

did not physically injure people. But I often saw Mr. Bettelheim drag children across the floor by their hair and kick them. He even hit autistic children who could not speak clearly.

I refused to participate in group therapy, so Mr. Bettelheim slapped me. He once hit a teen for telling someone that he lived at a "boarding school" instead of a mental institution.

The young counselors he attracted to work for him, looking for a guiding light, defied Mr. Bettelheim.

"I believed blindly in him, and I don't like to think of myself as the type of person who would believe blindly in anything," said Jacquelyn Sanders, Mr. Bettelheim's chosen successor, who eventually rejected much of his approach.

What Reid Schwartz, a former counselor at the school, called Mr. Bettelheim's "legendary temper" instilled fear in the staff as well as students.

Mr. Bettelheim treated parents badly, too. Norma Glassner, whose son spent six years with Mr. Bettelheim, said: "Bettelheim called me at my office and just lambasted me that it was my fault ... that I really don't want him, I don't care about my son. I broke down crying."

I have no doubt that children in Mr. Bettelheim's care who suffered from neurological disorders did not get treated because he thought the mind controlled everything. I often lay awake at night, gasping for breath, because I was refused medication for my allergies.

Mr. Bettelheim acknowledged in interviews that he took inspiration for his school from his time in the Nazi camps, where he watched guards systematically destroy people's self respect. He claims he reversed the process by respecting disturbed minds and catering to their every need. In fact, he did the opposite.

He often told me that I never had any friends. He called us all "crippled in the mind." Roberta Redford, who spent her late adolescence at the school and is now an Ohio office manager, said he called her a "shit" for putting pictures of the Beatles on the wall. Once he told someone about to leave the school that "unless you change, don't have any children, because you will just mess them up, just like you were messed up."

We had no privacy. Mr. Bettelheim often walked into bedrooms where teen girls were undressed. Roberta Redford said, Alida Jatch said that Mr. Bettelheim once pulled her out of a shower and beat her, wet and naked, in front of a room full of people.

Mr. Bettelheim died in March, at age 86, in isolated misery. He had sent himself as a tower of sanity with a unique cure for unhappiness, but he had often been depressed since his retirement, especially after his wife's death in 1984. He forced many people to live in institutional settings, yet he could not bear to live in a retirement home. Like so many bullies, he could dish it out, but he couldn't take it.

Mr. Pekow is editor of the newsletter *Day Care USA*. This comment was excerpted from a longer article in *The Washington Post*.

GENERAL NEWS

Spoils of Census:
Seats in Congress

California and Florida Big Winners

By Thomas B. Edsall

WASHINGTON — California and Florida, two key states in the Republican Party's goal of achieving majority status, appear likely to gain a total of 11 congressional districts before the 1992 elections, according to preliminary figures from the 1990 census.

For California, the projected gain of 7 seats in the House would be the equivalent of adding the entire House delegation from Alaska. It would give California a 52-member House delegation and would mean that about 1 of every 8 House members would be a Californian.

For Florida, the addition of 4 seats, making a total of 23, would be the equivalent of adding the Arkansas congressional delegation.

With preliminary Census Bureau estimates for all but four states now available, the lines of the political map of the United States in the 1990s are becoming clear.

Those lines, based on the final census figures, will be redrawn by state legislatures in time for the 1992 elections, when eight states are expected to gain House seats and presidential electoral votes and 13 states are expected to lose them.

The estimates of congressional district changes were made by a computer analysis performed by the National Committee for an Effective Congress, a Democratic group. The findings were generally supported by Thomas B. Hoeltzel, director of redistricting for the National Republican Congressional Committee.

Although still tentative and subject to change, these are among the major probable developments in addition to the projected growth in California and Florida:

• Two other Sun Belt states, Georgia and Arizona, are almost assured of gaining only one House seat each. Some previous estimates had given each two new seats.

• In two unexpected developments, Louisiana is now likely to lose one seat, and Washington state is likely to gain one. And Connecticut, Wisconsin and Minnesota, each of which was viewed as facing the possible loss of a House seat, now appear likely to retain the same-sized House delegations for another decade.

• Mississippi would barely keep

its five-member delegation in the 1990s, and the population of Kentucky appears likely to fall just short of the number necessary to retain the state's seven-member delegation, requiring the elimination of one seat.

• The overall pattern of population shifts appears to clearly favor the Republicans. In 1988, President George Bush won every state that is expected to gain House seats except Washington.

According to the preliminary projections, 19 congressional districts would be shifted among the states as a result of the 1990 census.

The winners are expected to include Texas, projected to gain three seats, and Virginia and North Carolina, which would pick up one each.

The losers would include New York, projected to lose three seats; Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio and Illinois, projected to lose two each; and Massachusetts, Iowa, West Virginia, Kansas, Montana and New Jersey, projected to lose one each.

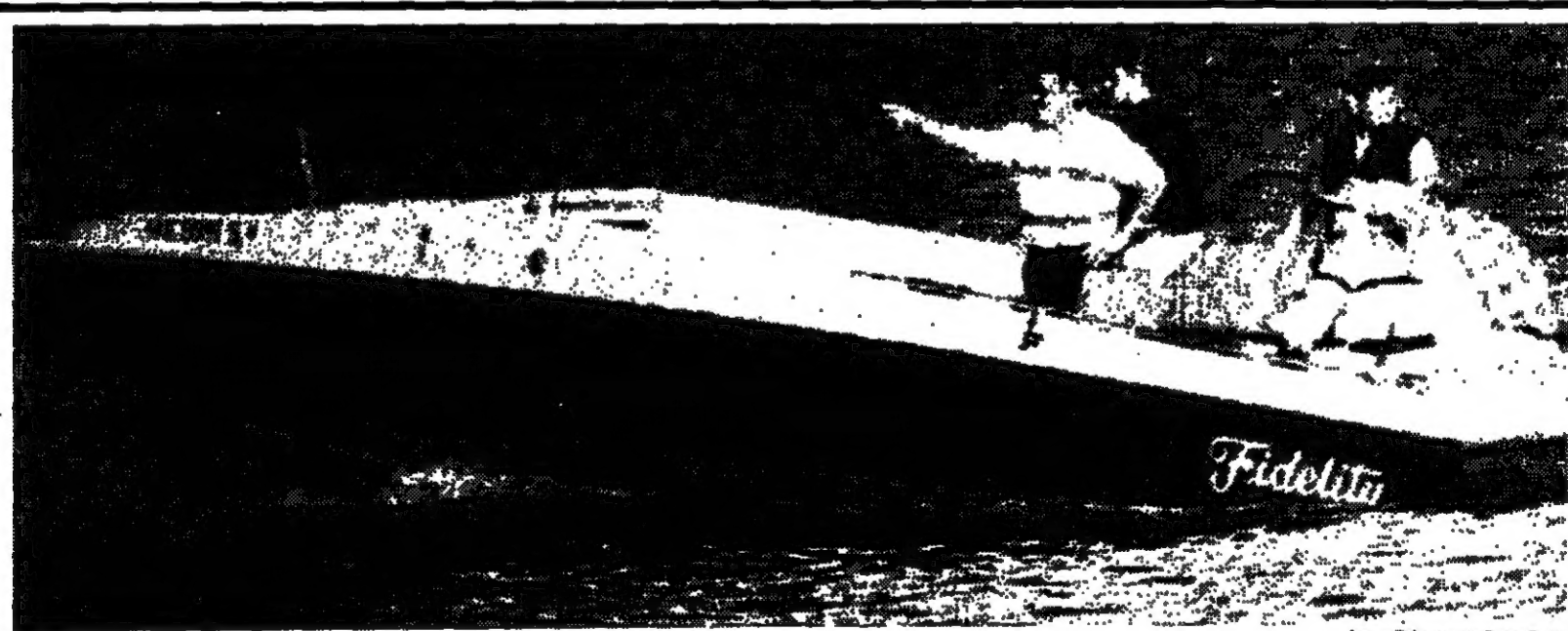
The expected gains by Florida and California increase the importance of the gubernatorial contests this year in both states. Democrats control the legislatures of both California and Florida, and the Republicans must consequently keep control of the governorships there to have any influence over the redistricting process in those states.

The preliminary population estimates made public on Monday for six states compared with population sizes in 1980 were: Alabama, 3,984,384, up from 3,894,000; California, 29,279,015, up from 23,668,000; Florida, 12,774,603, up from 9,746,000; Georgia, 6,386,948, up from 5,463,000; Indiana, 5,498,725, up from 3,490,000; and Massachusetts, 5,928,331, up from 5,737,000.

Taipei Fires Kuwait Envoy

Agence France-Press

TAIPEI — Taiwan's unofficial ambassador to Kuwait, Kenneth Kah, 61, was relieved of the post by the Foreign Ministry on Tuesday for leaving the Iraqi-occupied enclave ahead of other stranded Taiwan nationals.



Presidency Adrift as Speedboat Breaks Down

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada, left, pointing aboard President George Bush's speedboat shortly before it broke down near Mr. Bush's vacation home in Kennebunkport, Maine. The president, Mr. Mulroney, their wives, and several

other people transferred to a nearby Coast Guard cutter and were brought back to Mr. Bush's home at Walker's Point. "There was never any danger to the president or the prime minister," the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, said.

Mohawks Vow to Stand and Fight Canadian Army

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TORONTO — Mohawk militants have vowed to stand and fight after Quebec's premier ordered the army to tear down road and bridge barricades that the Indians have built during seven-week armed standoff with authorities over a land dispute.

Premier Robert Bourassa announced that he had asked the Canadian Army to take down the barriers. He said he was breaking off talks with the Mohawks, accusing them of not negotiating in good faith.

In a statement Monday night,

the Mohawk Nation said members of the two Mohawk communities involved were prepared to stand and fight. "Now that war is being forced upon us, we will turn our hearts and minds to war and it too we will wage with all our might," the statement said.

The conflict erupted earlier this year in Oka, 20 miles (32 kilometers) west of Montreal, when Mohawks defied the town's attempt to extend a golf course onto land they regard as sacred. A policeman was killed July 11 when police attacked the Indians.

Other Indians staged sympathetic blockades, and Mohawks closed the big Mercur Bridge into Montreal, angering commuters.

Talks between the Quebec and Canadian governments and the Mohawks collapsed Saturday as each side refused to address the other's main concerns.

The governments wanted the barricades dismantled quickly, while the Mohawks sought to regain the power they have lost over several centuries. They asked to be treated like a sovereign nation and demanded immunity from prosecution in the shooting death of Corporal Marcel Lemay at Oka.

Announcing his call to the army, Mr. Bourassa said he was obliged to assume his responsibility for public order. "And I hope in the coming days we will have a resolution to this crisis."

Some Mohawks fled their reservations after the order to the army was issued.

In Kahnawake, just south of Montreal, at least 100 women and children were evacuated by boats over the St. Lawrence River. Several residents were also reported flee-

ing the Kahnawake reservation, near Oka.

Those who left Kahnawake were not allowed to return. Soldiers setting up checkpoints around the community said they had instructions to bar access to everyone but those carrying food and medicine.

General John de Chastelain, chief of staff of the Canadian Forces, said in Ottawa that soldiers would refrain from force against the Indians "unless obliged to do so by the warriors."

(AP, Reuters)

British Official Allowed
To Remain in Yemen

United Press International

LONDON — Yemeni officials have withdrawn an order expelling Britain's consul-general in Aden, the Foreign Office announced.

On Saturday, the consul-general, Douglas Gordon, was given 48 hours to leave the country after Yemen said he had been caught taking photographs of a refinery and military sites. The Foreign Office maintained that he had been watching ships that could be plained by any observer.

Verbal Skills
Of College
Entrants Fall

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The verbal skills of college-bound U.S. high school seniors declined this year to match their lowest level ever, and mathematics skills showed no improvement, according to the College Board, which administers the Scholastic Aptitude Test.

The average score in verbal skills, 424 out of a possible 800, equals the 1981 score and is the worst result in the 23 years the board has compiled data. The average math score of 476 has not changed in four years despite schools' increased attention to mathematics.

College Board officials said the decline in verbal scores was particularly alarming. It is the fourth straight year that they have dropped.

Robert G. Cameron, executive director of research and development for the College Board, a non-profit educational services company, said the decline largely reflected a de-emphasis on reading in an electronic era. "We may be seeing the erosion of reading skills in this information age where people are getting their information by means other than reading," he said.

Scores in verbal skills improved through the mid-1980s, peaking at an average of 431 in 1986, partly because of Head Start and other federally financed programs that encouraged reading at an early age, state education officials nationwide said.

But as federal assistance was trimmed, they noted, so were these programs, and the gains began to erode.

Despite increased spending on education by several states, College Board officials said, many more states are financially pinched and are unable to increase spending on reading and math programs.

Nevertheless, some ethnic minorities posted gains in test scores this year, with American Indians registering a 9-point improvement in math skills, to 437. Average verbal scores among Indians also increased, to 388 from 384.

Overall, the board said, minority students have shown steady improvements in test scores since 1976, when the board began breaking out ethnic-group test scores.

All of GM's U.S. Cars to Have Air Bags by '95

New York Times Service

DETROIT — In a move that should make air bags as common in cars as seat belts, General Motors Corp. said it would install driver's-side bags in all its domestically built cars starting in the fall of 1993.

Of the three major U.S. automakers, GM's is the lowest percentage of cars with air bags. It has been installing the devices in only about a sixth of its cars built in the United

States, offering instead an automatic seat belt as the primary means of complying with a federal law requiring safety equipment even if riders don't activate it, as in buckling a seat belt.

The growing popularity of air bags with commuters, and reports from customers that they were effective in accidents, apparently convinced GM to stop bucking an industry-wide trend.

GM makes about 35 percent of the cars

sold in the United States, followed by Ford with about 21 percent. The Chrysler Corp., although the smallest domestic automaker, has been the most aggressive in offering air bags.

Starting with the 1990 model year, Chrysler put the bag on the driver's side of nearly all cars built in North America, except one model built in Canada and one built in a joint venture with Mitsubishi Motor Corp.

Berliner Ensemble

Has Brecht's Theater Lost Its Teeth?

And the shark, he has teeth
And he carries them in his face
And Muckel, he has a knife
But the knife one does not see.
— "Die Dreigroschenoper"
by Bertolt Brecht, 1928

By Ferdinand Protzman
New York Times Service

BERLIN — Getting a ticket to the Berliner Ensemble was difficult during communism's heyday in East Germany. Performances were nearly always sold out for shows by the theater troupe founded in 1949 by Bertolt Brecht and his wife, Helene Weigel, to inspire, instruct and entertain the workers and peasants as they strove to build a new, classless society on the ruins of the Third Reich.

But last fall, hundreds of thousands of East Germans took to the streets demanding an end to communism and reunification with West Germany, a country Brecht revived as a bloated bear-hall state ruled by warmongering capitalists and unrepentant Nazis.

Suddenly, the Berliner Ensemble and East Germany's other state-controlled theater companies were playing to houses half-filled, usually by Western tourists.

Those East Germans not acting in the real-life drama on the streets watched it on television, which was an instant medium when Brecht, the best-known German dramatist of this century, died in 1956. Despite claims to the contrary, the theaters played a marginal role in the peaceful revolution.

East Germany's theaters remain in crisis. The end of communism has offered new creative freedom, but also a severe loss of identity and a real possibility of financial failure.

With a new theater season coming in September and German unity expected by October, the central question is whether 40 years of totalitarian rule have permanently alienated the East German public, which is now free to sample the myriad and long-forbidden entertainment offerings of the West.

The Berliner Ensemble, which was created as a personal vehicle for the man who instantly became East Germany's first cultural icon, is faced with questions that strike at the very root of its existence.

Brecht still relevant now that the ideology and state he served are vanishing? Are Brecht classics like "The Threepenny Opera," "Mother Courage" and "Mother Courage" still viable box-office attractions? Does the shark still have his teeth, now that West German marks rule the day?

Joachim Tenschert is a 62-year-old former student of Brecht, and since 1977 he has been the *Chefdramaturg* of the Berliner Ensemble, a position that gives him nearly dictatorial power over the ensemble's repertoire. Tenschert's answer to the vanishing audience problem and the rumblings from critics and academics about Brecht's position in theater history is to put even more Brecht on the stage in the coming season.

The ensemble has weathered other crises, Tenschert said, citing the East German uprising of June 17, 1953, Brecht's death and the building of the Berlin Wall on Aug. 13, 1961. He noted that the ensemble has always pulled through, thanks to Brecht.

"We are better equipped than other East Berlin theaters to survive because of a growing interest in Brecht," he added. "There is a retroactive need to see Brecht theater among the West German and West



Chefdramaturg Joachim Tenschert in Berliner Ensemble's theater; Brecht memorial in courtyard.

European public. They are profiting from the changes because now there are no problems with crossing the border or changing money. One goes normally to the theater here."

The unabashed intention is to generate cold, hard Deutsche marks, which became the sole German currency on July 1. New finances are also to come from the Berlin Senate for Culture, the arm of the city government that finances theaters.

The money generated by putting on Brecht's works is to help pay for what Holger Teschke, a 31-year-old dramatist with the Berliner Ensemble, called the group's experimental pieces. Most prominent of those was "Germania: Death in Berlin," by the East German playwright Heiner Müller, whose works were banned by the Communist government from 1961 to 1973 because some were critical of socialism.

"Naturally, we will build up the Brecht line for economic, social and political reasons," Teschke said. "And we will continue to experiment as well. But we are not going to let ourselves now be turned away from authors or theater forms because of economic or lightly veiled political reasons."

Brecht was after all the man who when asked by the House Commi-

tee on Un-American Activities whether he had ever applied to join the Communist Party answered, "No, no, no, no, no, never."

He then returned to Berlin, armed with an Austrian passport, a Swiss bank account and a contract from a West German publisher.

Brecht also took no part in the East German workers' revolt of 1953, preferring to keep the Berliner Ensemble's rehearsals going and see how events unfolded.

THAT cynicism prompted the West German author Günter Grass to write an accusatory drama, "The Plebeians Rehearse the Uprising," in which construction workers disrupt rehearsals of a theater troupe headed by the Boss, portrayed as a state-supported stooge who gives a touch of cultural credibility to the totalitarian regime.

The uprising last fall was a different story, Tenschert said.

On Nov. 4, four Berlin theaters — the Deutsches Theater, the Gorki Theater, the Volksbühne and the Berliner Ensemble — sponsored a demonstration that sent 750,000 people into the streets of Berlin.

"That's something that theater didn't even achieve in the French

Revolution or in the Russian Revolution," Tenschert said.

"The theater went to the streets out of a sense of societal responsibility for the public. Naturally, Dresden and Leipzig did immense political preparatory work for this through their demonstrations. But this was the point where it took off. In the capital, under the eyes of the government, the media and the world. Then came *die Wende*."

Tenschert's account of how *die Wende* — the turning point — came to pass is challenged in both East Germany and West Germany.

"East Berlin's theaters did not lead anything," said Rolf Michaelis, drama critic for *Die Zeit*, a West German weekly. "The revolution came from Leipzig and Dresden. In Berlin, the theaters waited until they saw clearly which way the wind blew. Then they took to the streets. When it was safe."

History, Michaelis said, will also judge the Berliner Ensemble and Bertolt Brecht differently.

"The Berliner Ensemble is a dead house," Michaelis said. "Unfortunately, Brecht's heirs haven't dared anything new. Haven't risked anything for almost the past 20 years. It has become a museum."

which offered greater variety. "It's a competition between an athlete on foot and another in a vehicle," he said. "It's a dreadful picture."

Teng called the situation "devastating," but said his bureau was pushing filmmakers even harder to produce movies that showcased the government-approved themes of selflessness and patriotism. He extolled a new movie called "Hello to the Pacific."

It is, he said, about the development of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone in southern China. Teng's main proposal for solving the financial problems is to increase ticket prices in urban areas for the first time in 30 years. He said they would soon be raised from the equivalent of six cents to a little more than seven cents.

But Teng offered a spirited defense of the new strictures as necessary to maintain public order, a sign that any easing is unlikely soon. "The most important criterion for judging a film is its ideological content," he insisted. "We carried out some investigations and found that social delinquency was a result of foreign and violent films."

Tadato Sato, a Tokyo-based critic who has written several books on Chinese film history, said the problems of the industry were particularly upsetting because it had so recently been enjoying something of a renaissance, with the country's 15 studios turning out films portraying the disillusionment of young Chinese with corruption and official incompetence. "The situation has gotten very bad, and filmmakers I know are deeply troubled by what is happening," Sato said. "In the last three or four years it was a golden period for Chinese films. Filmmakers were becoming more ambitious and they had enough freedom to produce new kinds of films. It was quite courageous."

Signs of how much this has changed can be seen in newspapers regularly. In a recent instance, He

Brecht's writing appears to have escaped condemnation, however.

Joachim Krause, a professor of German literature at the University of Bonn, said Brecht "remains the most performed German dramatist, and that is unlikely to change."

It is Brecht's name, not the names of the other authors, that is to be on the marquee.

"It always astonishes people when we show them that the share of Brecht to other authors in our repertoire was only one in four," Tenschert said. In the future, it will be closer to 50 percent.

Outside Tenschert's office the crisis is hardly evident. The courtyard of the Berliner Ensemble's charming old neo-baroque Theater am Schiffbauerdamm, where "The Threepenny Opera" had its premiere in 1928, seems a leafy island of summer calm in the exhaust-filled tumult of East Berlin.

In Bertolt-Brecht-Platz, a small square in front of the theater, is a statue of the writer, looking westward with the famous enigmatic smile. The revised ending he wrote in 1948 to Mack the Knife's ballad comes to mind:

Because a shark is not a shark,
If one can't prove it.

LONDON THEATER

Maugham's Bitter Parable

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Written and first staged in 1921, frequently revived until World War II and very seldom thereafter, Somerset Maugham's "The Circle" is his most characteristic serious comedy. A bitter country-house parable of lost love and social destruction, it gave Rex Harrison his farewell role on Broadway early this year and is now on a British tour with the same director, Brian Murray, but only Stewart Granger surviving from the American cast.

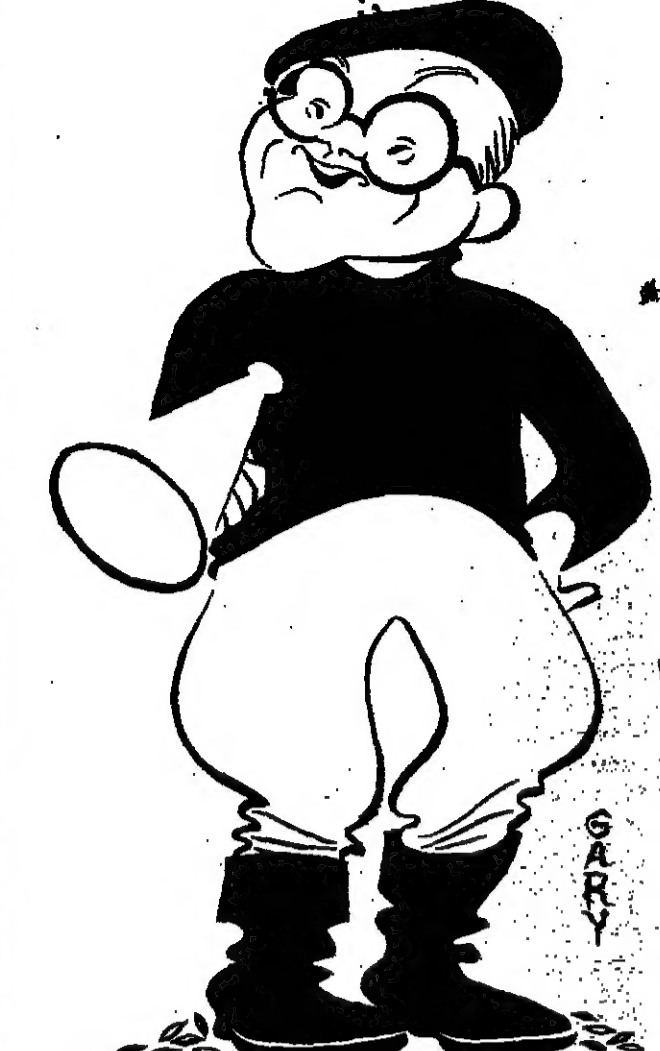
Granger, away from the British stage for 40 years, returns with considerable quiet charm and confidence in the most thankless of the three leading roles, that of the dull but amiable man whose wife has, 30 years before the play begins, run off with his parliamentary leader, Lord Porteous. This was the Harrison role, now played by Ian Carmichael, with Rosemary Harris replacing Glynis Johns as the errant wife. All three establish in a somewhat somnolent way that this must once have been a play of considerable high-society shock value.

A boring young politician has invited his long-lost mother (Harris) for the weekend, unaware that his father (Granger) is also about to visit. He also doesn't know that his own wife is about to do precisely what his mother did 30 years earlier. That much becomes clear by the end of Act I, and for the remainder of the evening Maugham debates the ethics of sex versus society.

He starts by showing us that love is indeed not everything: Porteous returns as an aged, toothless drunk while the wife and mother he ran away with has become a ludicrously witty old crone, still regretting the place in country-house society she abandoned. For a while it looks as though the young wife is not going to have much trouble deciding to stay with her own dull husband, given the example before her.

But Maugham was canny than that, and like the best of his short stories, "The Circle" carries a surprising twist. What it does best though, in Brian Murray's faithful if rather staid production, is illustrate desperate ambiguity about British society in the '20s.

His own anguished bisexuality had already marked Maugham as an outsider, and yet he fervently believed in Victorian values. It is this constant juxtaposition of happiness versus heritage that gives the play a kind of timeless fascination.



Kenneth Branagh in "Midsummer Night's Dream."

Few if any actors of the decade have been as lavishly praised and then denigrated as Kenneth Branagh. A young classical actor making a determined grab for Olivier's crown with the film of "Henry V," he has also had the courage to take his own touring company of 17 players through the United States and Japan before ending up at London's Dominion Theatre last week with a doubling of "King Lear" and "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

The problem is essentially that Branagh has not been able to attract a company with anything like the strength needed for "Lear," which has Richard Briers in the title role suggesting that he might have made a memorable Fool, while Emma Thompson as the Fool suggests an intriguing Cordelia.

Nothing here suggests he is yet ready to direct the most difficult and demanding of Shakespeare's tragedies, least of all with a touring company looking last week more travel-stained than experienced.

It is unlikely the year of other and better "Lears," though the same company, with Branagh again as director, does manage a much more presentable "Dream" with Briers as Bottom and Branagh as Quince, both suggesting characters from some period Aynscombe comedy of music players.

But it is perhaps unjust to judge Branagh's Renaissance company by London or Stratford standards. This is essentially an actor-led touring troupe, much like the prewar outfit of Donald Wolfit immortalized by Albert Finney in "The Dresser."

Push for Patriotic Purity Squeezes Chinese Film Industry

By James Sterngold
New York Times Service

BEIJING — Ideological purity in the arts always exacts a price, but in China's film industry, which was blossoming before political hard-liners took control of the government, it is proving ruinous.

More than a year after the government sent tanks into Tiananmen Square to crush the pro-democracy movement, the subsequent crackdown on liberalization in the arts has forced filmmakers to portray "patriotic" themes. No longer are they allowed to make highly popular kung-fu thrillers, tame love stories, serious stories of official corruption and disillusioned youth and other Western-influenced movies that had highlighted the growing discontent among Chinese. In recent weeks, officials have

emphasized that they will push even harder for filmmakers to follow Communist orthodoxy.

As a result, China's film industry is facing a financial crisis, according to Teng Jinxian, head of the film bureau at the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television and the top film censor.

Teng, a former actor and director, conceded that fewer films were being made, that their quality was declining and that audiences were abandoning theaters for their television sets and other amusements. He added that young people were largely bored by the new type of politically correct movies that were being ordered up by his ministry on such subjects as the history of the Communist Party, the development of the economy and the construction industry.

"I cannot give you a figure," he said of the losses being suffered, "but it is colossal."

Teng said the industry's worst enemy was not subversion or ideological impurity, but television,

which offered greater variety. "It's a competition between an athlete on foot and another in a vehicle," he said. "It's a dreadful picture."

Teng called the situation "devastating," but said his bureau was pushing filmmakers even harder to produce movies that showcased the government-approved themes of selflessness and patriotism. He extolled a new movie called "Hello to the Pacific."

It is, he said, about the development of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone in southern China. Teng's main proposal for solving the financial problems is to increase ticket prices in urban areas for the first time in 30 years. He said they would soon be raised from the equivalent of six cents to a little more than seven cents.

But Teng offered a spirited defense of the new strictures as necessary to maintain public order, a sign that any easing is unlikely soon. "The most important criterion for judging a film is its ideological content," he insisted. "We carried out some investigations and found that social delinquency was a result of foreign and violent films."

Tadato Sato, a Tokyo-based critic who has written several books on Chinese film history, said the problems of the industry were particularly upsetting because it had so recently been enjoying something of a renaissance, with the country's 15 studios turning out films portraying the disillusionment of young Chinese with corruption and official incompetence. "The situation has gotten very bad, and filmmakers I know are deeply troubled by what is happening," Sato said. "In the last three or four years it was a golden period for Chinese films. Filmmakers were becoming more ambitious and they had enough freedom to produce new kinds of films. It was quite courageous."

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Jingzhi, the acting Minister of Culture, insisted in a speech quoted widely in the press that artists had to adhere to the "socialist road" and that they should work to wipe out "bourgeois liberalization," or Western influences.

Following that road, the industry has seen the number of film tickets sold drop from 8.3 billion in the first half of last year to 8 billion in the first half of this year, according to figures issued by China's state-owned film distribution monopoly.

Hu Jian, the distribution company's general manager, was quoted by the New China News Agency as saying that the number of films produced by film studios for release had tumbled to 46 in the first half of this year from 65 in the same period last year. "Young people would like to spend their money on something amusing," Teng conceded in the interview. "The films that preach about patriotism are not very enjoyable to them."

Soviets, for First Time, to Open Files to Inquiry on Wallenberg Fate

By Bill Keller
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union has agreed for the first time to open prisons and archives to an international commission investigating the fate of Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who disappeared into the Soviet prison system after saving thousands of Jews from the Nazis, according to members of the commission.

They said the promise of collaboration by Soviet agencies — including the KGB, whose files are considered the richest potential source of information — offered the best chance to date of proving or disproving the Soviet assertion that Mr. Wallenberg died in 1947. But some members of the commission said Monday that they were skeptical about the promise of full disclosure. The group's first re-

quest to the KGB, for files of Smersh, the now-defunct counter-intelligence agency that arrested Mr. Wallenberg in January 1945, met with a noncommittal response.

The new investigation is extraordinary in that the collaborators include not only Soviet law enforcement and intelligence agencies, but former political prisoners, a representative of Moscow's Jews, and a specialist from Memorial, a Soviet anti-Stalinist society.

Irvin Cotler, a Canadian lawyer

long involved in Soviet human rights issues, said the new investigation had been modeled on the work of an international commission that led to the official Soviet admission of the massacre of Polish soldiers in the Katyn forest in World War II.

"The Soviets have said they will not insist on their position that Raoul Wallenberg died in 1947, but will allow for an open-ended investigation," Mr. Cotler said. "And they have promised to make all the

evidence available. In our discussions, they acknowledged that their own previous inquiries had been superficial."

The commission was to begin this week with a visit to Vladimir Prison, where numerous inmates reported seeing Mr. Wallenberg in the decades after the date Soviet officials have long given for his death. The investigators include two former political prisoners, now émigrés, who served time in that prison.

They are Cronid Lubarsky, who runs a human rights information service in Munich, and Marvin Makinen, chairman of the biochemistry department at the University of Chicago.

As an amateur Swedish diplomat in wartime Budapest, Mr. Wallenberg rescued thousands of Hungarian Jews from the gas chambers by feigning boldness and ingenuity. He vanished into Stalin's prison system after the Red Army captured Budapest. There was no official word of his fate until 1957, when repeated queries from the Swedish government resulted in a statement that Mr. Wallenberg had died, at the age of 35, of a heart attack in Lubyanka prison in Moscow.

Last year, after insisting for decades that all documents in the case had disappeared, Soviet authorities produced Mr. Wallenberg's passport and personal effects, but stuck to the original version of his death.

An international commission of inquiry that operated with limited Soviet cooperation concluded last May that there was "compelling evidence" Mr. Wallenberg was alive in the 1950s and 1960s, and "credible" evidence that he was still alive into the 1980s.

Mr. Cotler, who was chairman of that earlier investigation, said the last reported sightings were by two witnesses who said they had evidence that Mr. Wallenberg was in a prison between Moscow and Leningrad in November 1967.

Alexei Kartsev, who has been investigating the Wallenberg case for the Soviet daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, said that in the past year the authorities have allowed him to visit Vladimir and examine records there, but that many documents seemed to be missing.

"We have been given answers to almost every one of our questions," said Mr. Kartsev, who is working with the new investigation. "But the quality of the answers has not always been satisfactory."

Townships Peaceful in South Africa

The Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG — The South African police said two black men were killed in unrest, but the country's major townships were peaceful Tuesday after two weeks of factional fighting that has claimed more than 500 lives.

Meanwhile, President Frederik W. de Klerk planned to meet church leaders who allege that police have sided with the Zulu-based Inkatha movement during the recent fighting in the townships ringing Johannesburg.

Zulus loyal to Inkatha have been battling black supporters of the African National Congress in some of the worst violence since nationwide unrest during the mid-1980s.

The police said the two recent deaths were in Vosloorus, south-east of Johannesburg, and in Natal Province.

There has been no major fighting in the townships since last week. Soldiers and police have been patrolling the troubled areas and confiscating weapons, including guns, spears, knives and axes.

Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, the Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other anti-apartheid figures have accused the police of fueling the conflict.

A delegation from the anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches was scheduled to meet with Mr. de Klerk in Pretoria.

Church leaders have said that the police appear to be actively helping the Zulus and have done nothing to disperse them.

Herald Tribune

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5 Broom made of twigs
10 Bridge coup
14 Island or port now called Xiamen
15 Merry on the run
16 Welcome
17 Operatic offering by Puccini
20 Ernie or eagle
21 Nerve networks

DOWN

22 Morning condensation
23 Canadian Indians
24 Shiny fabric
25 Hors d'oeuvres
26 Portent
27 Squelched
28 Adage
29 Operatic offering by Gounod
30 Male sheep, to a Londoner
31 Fluff, in Frankfurt
32 Stem

Solution to Previous Puzzle

REEL	SMEW	ABAS
ACLE	ALERT	ADAGE
SLOG	GRIN	PARIS
PAPALOVES	MAMBO	STEELE
ARA	ARA	ARA
AIT	AIT	AIT
SNIPED	SNIPED	SNIPED
ESTATES	ESTATES	ESTATES
TAL	TAL	TAL
ALAS	ALAS	ALAS
TALENT	TALENT	TALENT
NAP	NAP	NAP
GENTIAN	DISO	DISO
ANN	ANN	ANN
MASTS	MASTS	MASTS
LETSTWISTAGAIN	LETSTWISTAGAIN	LETSTWISTAGAIN
REVUE	OVER	ALMA
AVERT	VANE	PEER
DYNE	ENDS	ESSE

10 A star of "She-Devil"
11 Golf shot
12 "Want for Christmas . . .": 1946 song
13 Pre-Columbian Amerind
14 Created
15 Operatic offering by Verdi
16 Fact
17 Chemical compound
18 Lik
19 "proprie (self-respect)"
20 Home of the Sun Devils
21 Abilene-to-Fort Worth dir.
22 Style of cooking
23 Glycicide is one
24 "Socrate" composer
25 Reserved
26 Departed
27 Wolfe's "and the River"
28 Verve
29 Misdo
30 Emulated Tai and Randy

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65
66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78
79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91
92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104

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The Fifth Element in Dynamic-4. The Driver.



Climb into the Mitsubishi Galant and you are entering a dynamic synthesis of the most advanced drive technology available to today's motorist. Riding under the sleek, energetic form is the awesome combination of Mitsubishi's 4-wheel drive, 4-wheel steering, 4-wheel independent suspension and 4-wheel anti-lock braking. Each complementing the other to create a ride that is so swift, supple and sure, we had to name the system, Dynamic-4. There's just one more thing needed to give the system life—you, the will, the fifth element.

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find the level of communication between yourself and the car remarkable. Almost as though it was operating as an extension of your will.

The immediate result of this is greater confidence in the abilities of your vehicle, and a greater sense of pleasure in driving. Mitsubishi created Dynamic-4 and harnessed it in the sophisticated elegance of the Galant to give modern motorists the most refined, safe, yet exhilarating drive possible. Each individual element has been rigorously tried and tested in some of the world's most exacting rally events. And the legacy is evident. Give Dynamic-4 its fifth element, and realize the future of motoring.

MITSUBISHI GALANT



MEDIA MARKETS

Instant Answers Are Out: It Takes Time to Zap Zits

By Randall Rothenberg
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Advertising, with its brassy promise of immediate, when-it-absolutely-positively-has-to-be-there-overnight results, has begun to crouch a softer, sweeter tone. Buy now, be satisfied later. Consumer-product manufacturers who once vowed instantaneous answers to bad breath and engine knock are now using their television commercials and print ads to ask for a little time.

The pledge of fast change embodied in the old Crest toothpaste anthem — "Look, Ma! No cavities!" — has given way to appeals to patience, as illustrated by the new Texaco System 3 gasoline campaign that pleads, "Five tanks is all we ask."

Where it once took a spoonful of Cocoa Puffs to send its tufted spokesbird into paroxysms of delight, today Grape Nuts cereal is entreating, "Try it for a week." Audi automobiles are even requesting a "three-year test drive."

John Neiman, the chief creative officer at the D'Arcy Massey Benton & Bowles advertising agency in New York, believes the ad industry, if not the United States, has entered an "era of less-than-instant gratification," which he contrasts to a past decade stuffed with quick fixes like "junk bonds" and tax cuts.

He dates the transition in the marketing Zeitgeist to 1988, a year that some political philosophers find notable for the election of George Bush as president, but that Mr. Neiman recalls as the time that Kelly LeBrock began appearing in ads for Pantene shampoo and hair conditioner.

As in conventional ads featuring celebrity spokespersons, Ms. LeBrock, a raven-haired model and actress, confessed to occasionally unruly hair and promoted Pantene as the solution.

But in a startling departure from the norm, she conceded: "It won't happen overnight. But it will happen."

IT MAY BE HARD TO BELIEVE that the kingdom of one-hour Martinis and fast-food franchises is becoming the land of deferred gratification.

But there are tantalizing, if anecdotal, bits of evidence. Sales of some microwave products have begun to plummet; microwave pizza sales dropped 16.5 percent by the end of March from a year earlier, according to Arbitron/SAMI, the research service. Sales of ground coffee increased last year, while instant coffee sales fell.

DMB & B's own campaigns for Clearasil acne medication well represent the shift. About a year and a half ago, the agency released a commercial entitled "Double Zap."

A panoply of fast-moving images set against a throbbing musical undercurrent, the rock-video-style ad opened with an announcer asserting: "You can run but you can't hide. You zap one pimple, another one appears. You need to zap, zap, double zap your zits."

Sure enough, with one brush of a Clearasil pad, the commercial's distraught protagonist is out and about, his arm around his girlfriend, his face miraculously unblemished.

This year, the agency introduced a new commercial — a week in the life of an acne-ridden teen played out to the more amiable early 60s song, "Do Do Run Run Run."

On Monday, she discovers a facial imperfection. On Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, she applies Clearasil, allowing her to venture out happily on Friday with "a guy named Bill."

The ad concludes, "Clearasil guarantees you fewer pimples in five days or your money back."

Mr. Neiman attributes the change in marketing strategies to consumer cynicism that has been fed by television programming and advertising.

"We are in an era saturated by public-service ads and other images showing the problems of AIDS and drugs, which tell people that solutions will take years," he said. "A decade ago, everything was 'Ozzie and Harriet' happy endings. But today, you try to run a commercial that says, 'Try this — you'll feel good overnight,' after an AIDS or antidrug ad, and consumers will turn you off."

Fiat Plans To Cut Its Output

Lower European Car Sales Blamed

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ROME — Fiat SpA said Tuesday it planned to cut car output for the rest of the year by 75,000 vehicles and temporarily idle more than a quarter of its work force to reduce stocks in the face of a slumping European automobile market.

The company's auto-personnel director, Maurizio Magnabosco,

The United Auto Workers union picked General Motors Corp. as the target company for its contract negotiations. Page 10

told a news conference Fiat planned a program of temporary layoffs involving 35,000 workers to be spread out from September to December.

He made the announcement after a meeting with unions representing Fiat's 117,000 auto workers.

Fiat is Italy's biggest private industrial company. It sold Volkswagen AG as Europe's car sales leader last year, selling 2.3 million cars under the Fiat, Alfa Romeo and Lancia labels.

The layoffs will affect 12 of Fiat's 21 plants in Italy.

Union leaders said the company planned to close Fiat body plants for upper- and lower-range cars.

Mr. Magnabosco said the measure would not affect middle-range cars such as the Fiat Tempra and the Tempra.

The move stemmed from concern over the automobile market and was not sparked by the Gulf crisis or its effect on gasoline prices, Fiat said.

The auto market saw a marked slowdown in June after several years of expansion. Auto makers have not yet released sales figures for July and August, but the signs are not good for the Italian market, which represents more than 50 percent of Fiat sales.

Fiat is holding up well on some foreign markets, however. Initial figures from West Germany show the company had a 3.5 percent market share in July, up from 4.4 percent in July 1989, and Fiat's market share in France rose to 7.7 percent from 7.4 percent last year.

(Reuters, AFP)

Renault Plans Sale

France's state-owned automaker Renault plans to sell a 35 percent stake in its steering systems subsidiary SMI to the Japanese ball-bearing maker Koyo, a subsidiary of Toyota, Agence France-Press reported from Paris.

Renault management declined to comment on the report from members of the CGT and CFDT trade unions, both of which condemned the plan.

SMI, based in the Rhone valley, employed 725 people at the end of last year and reported a net profit of 17.1 million francs (\$3.3 million) on sales of 699 million francs.

By Lawrence Malkin

International Herald Tribune

JACKSON HOLE, Wyoming —

Of all the countries of Eastern Europe, Czechoslovakia, with its pre-war history of liberal democracy and industrialization, is regarded by the West as the likeliest candidate for capitalism — but not necessarily by the Czechoslovaks themselves.

Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus is seen as the prize pupil of most Western economists and officials, due to his program of blasting away at the centralized planning and price-fixing institutions of Communism, and plans to turn state industries over to private ownership by the end of the year.

Harvard University has invited him to lecture on his economic program. In June, he charmed the Bretton Woods Society of international economists in Washington. Last weekend his determination was warmly applauded by present and past chairmen of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board at a seminar here for Eastern European officials that focused on the transition to market economies.

But Mr. Klaus's main problems are not on the Western lecture circuit, but back home. And he knows it.

The 49-year-old economist, who was a central bank forecaster and statistician until he was elected to parliament this spring with a higher vote total than even President Vaclav Havel, promised to take his argument directly to the people if he is blocked by what he calls "economic illiterates" in parliament. He is a forceful and witty speaker, can produce television sound bites on demand, and even has women's fan clubs backing him against the staid local politicians who epitomize the old order.

In an interview, Mr. Klaus described his opponents as a mixture of entrenched bureaucrats and managers "who don't know how to compete and are afraid of losing their privileges," and intellectuals left over from the spangled reform

movement of the 1960s "who still have their dreams of muddling through with minor improvements."

He added that some of his countrymen, still nostalgic for the brief era of Communism with a human face, are supported by Western leftists "who have lost the market

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Guinness Trio Gets Jail Time

By Steven Prokesh
New York Times Service

LONDON — The former chairman and chief executive of Guinness PLC was sentenced Tuesday to five years in prison for his role in one of Britain's biggest financial scandals in decades.

On Monday, Ernest W. Saunders, 54, was found guilty of conspiracy, fraud and theft charges for his part in an illegal scheme to help the brewery company win the 1986 takeover fight for the Distillers Co., the spirits concern.

He was given concurrent sentences Tuesday of five years and three and a half years in London's Southwark Crown Court.

A co-defendant, Gerald Ronson, 51, chairman of Heron International PLC, was sentenced to one year in prison, fined a record £5 million (\$9.7 million) and ordered to pay £440,000 in prosecution costs.

Mr. Saunders's sentence was considered to be stiff in the City, London's financial district. Indeed, the sentence is longer than any handed out in the Ivan F. Boesky insider-trading scandal in the United States. Mr. Boesky himself, whose disclosures helped initiate the Guinness investigation, received a three-year sentence.

Some in the City said the sentence seemed especially harsh in Mr. Saunders's circumstances. He suffered a breakdown after the scandal broke and has had to claim government welfare support to live. But others welcomed the sentence as a deterrent to those who might contemplate similar excesses in takeover fights.

"If the people were found guilty, they deserve reasonably stiff sentences," said the chief executive of a big British merchant bank, who insisted that his name not be used. "If you can catch people and punish them severely, that will prevent others from doing the same thing."

The illegal scheme involved an effort to support Guinness's stock price. The defendants were accused of orchestrating the purchase of Guinness shares to give the company a stock-and-cash offer for Distillers, a better chance of beating a rival offer from the Argyle Group PLC. Guinness, whose £2.7 billion bid prevailed, was not itself accused of wrongdoing.

In sentencing Mr. Saunders, the judge who presided over the trial told him that he had been guilty of "dishonesty on a massive scale" in authorizing

illegal payments to those who participated in the scheme.

"I am quite satisfied, as the jury by their verdicts have shown, that you were at the center of the dishonest conduct that occurred," said the judge, Sir Denis Henry.

The fine imposed on Mr. Ronson, whose property and retailing concern is one of Britain's largest private companies, was the largest ever imposed by a British court. The previous high was £525,000 assessed against the National Graphical Association in 1983 for illegally picketing a newspaper plant, according to the Guinness Book of Records. The book is published by a subsidiary of Guinness PLC.

Mr. Saunders was not fined.

Sentencing of Anthony K. Parnes, a 45-year-old stockbroker also convicted in the case, was interrupted when he collapsed in the courtroom. After he recovered, he was sentenced to concurrent terms of 30 and 18 months and ordered to pay £440,000 pounds for prosecution costs.

Sentencing of Sir Jack Lyons, a wealthy financier who is 74, has been postponed until Sept. 25 because of a medical operation he is scheduled to receive.

British convicts are eligible for parole after serving one-third of their sentences or at least six months.

The Guinness scandal has come to represent in Britain what the Boesky insider-trading scandal symbolizes in the United States: the greed and quest for power that drove members of the financial and business community to gross excesses during the takeover mania of the 1980s.

A tip in 1986 from the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, which at the time was investigating the Boesky case, led the British government to look into the Guinness case. The SEC reportedly got the information from Mr. Boesky. The Wall Street arbitrator, who was cooperating with American authorities in the hope of obtaining an easier sentence, was allegedly involved in the Guinness scheme.

His agreement to cooperate with American and British investigators is believed to have included a promise not to be prosecuted in Britain. No charges have been brought.

It has been known that Guinness invested \$100 million in one of Mr. Boesky's investment funds, allegedly as a payment for his help

Confidence Plunges in U.S.

Two Surveys Chart a Steep Decline in Consumers' Faith

By Kathleen Day
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Shaken by the Gulf crisis and fears that higher oil prices will cause a full-blown recession, consumer faith in the economy has fallen to its lowest level since the early 1980s, according to two leading surveys.

Consumer confidence has been dropping steadily since the beginning of the year. But in August, news of a possible war in the Middle East, it dropped to its lowest level in seven years, according to the Conference Board, a prominent business and economic group whose survey was released Monday.

The August decline was even sharper than the drop following the 1987 stock market collapse.

A survey by the University of Michigan is expected to show similar results when it is released later this week.

The monthly surveys are watched closely by economists and Wall Street because of the key role that consumer psychology plays in keeping the economy going.

If consumers lose confidence in the economy, they are more apt to delay big purchases of such items as cars or houses, even if their own personal income has not changed. A large drop in consumer confidence, analysts say, could tip itself into the country into recession.

"Consumers haven't created the downturn," said Richard Berner, an economist at the investment banking firm of Salomon Brothers Inc. in New York. "But they will make it worse or provide the final straw that causes a recession. I myself believe we are headed for a mild recession."

Data from the Commerce Department released Monday are likely to continue the debate about whether the economy is headed into recession. U.S. personal income rose 0.6 percent in July, following a revised 0.5 percent increase in June. Growth in personal consumption, on the other hand, slowed last month — to 0.5 percent — after a 1.0 percent gain in June.

Fluctuations in these numbers over the next several months could be key in determining how far and how fast the economy might slide, in the Conference Board survey.

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Iran Seeks Time To Block OPEC Output Boost

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

VIENNA — Oil Minister Gholamreza Azgashah of Iran, whose country has said it will not support an OPEC proposal to boost oil output, asked Tuesday that the OPEC meeting be postponed by a week to consider alternative courses.

The Iranian oil minister also suggested that a joint group of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and the International Energy Agency, which is based in Paris and made up of 21 oil-consuming nations, meet to decide on joint action on the oil price crisis.

The proposal is in line with requests from Libya and Iran — which have both opposed any output increase by OPEC — that oil companies and industrialized nations release their stocks of oil to relieve the pressure on prices and make up for the shortages caused by the international boycott of Iraqi and Kuwaiti crude.

Several OPEC officials dismissed the proposal as "far fetched," saying it was not likely to change plans to adopt an immediate increase in production by those in the cartel who can do so immediately.

World crude oil prices, which fell sharply on Monday, steadied on Tuesday as traders took stock of the latest developments. In New York West Texas rose \$1.07 a barrel to \$27.98. In London, North Sea Brent rose 5 cents to \$26.05.

Only Iraq, Iran and Libya oppose the OPEC proposal, which has the support of 10 OPEC members and requires a simple majority to be adopted Wednesday.

"On the face of it, meeting with the IEA may not be a bad idea," said one senior OPEC official who asked not to be identified. He added, however: "This is not the time to stop everything and explore this very complicated arrangement now. I think the accord we have stands and will most probably be adopted tomorrow morning."

Under the proposed agreement, all those in OPEC who can produce more oil, particularly Saudi Arabia, Venezuela and the United Arab Emirates, are expected to clear the way to do so immediately.

The Saudis, Venezuelans and

Wall Street Posts Gains

Stocks ended slightly higher Tuesday in New York, with blue chips pressured by a modest rise in oil prices and the broad market holding onto slim gains. Profit-taking after the strong rallies on Friday and Monday also weighed on the market.

Most European markets fell on profit-taking after Monday's sharp gains, but London rallied strongly and Tokyo stocks also rose. (Page 10.)

others including the United Arab Emirates — the three with meaningful spare output capacity — had wanted some way of another to have OPEC's blessing before turning up the taps.

In Paris, a spokesman for the International Energy Agency rejected Iran's call for a joint meeting with OPEC on oil output. "Such a meeting is not on the cards."

"As far as the linkage between Western stocks and OPEC's production increase is concerned, we would prefer to wait and see what the other OPEC members have to say," the spokesman said. (NTT, Reuters)

Statist and British Petroleum announced plans for broad collaboration. Page 11

German Prices Probe

The West German monopolies office said Tuesday it would investigate five gasoline retailers for alleged price fixing, Agence France-Press reported from Berlin.

The price of gasoline has risen five-fold in West Germany since Iraq invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2, but price rises by various companies have been so similar, both in amount and timing, that the monopolies office believes the rules of free competition are being infringed.

Lech am Arlberg, Austria

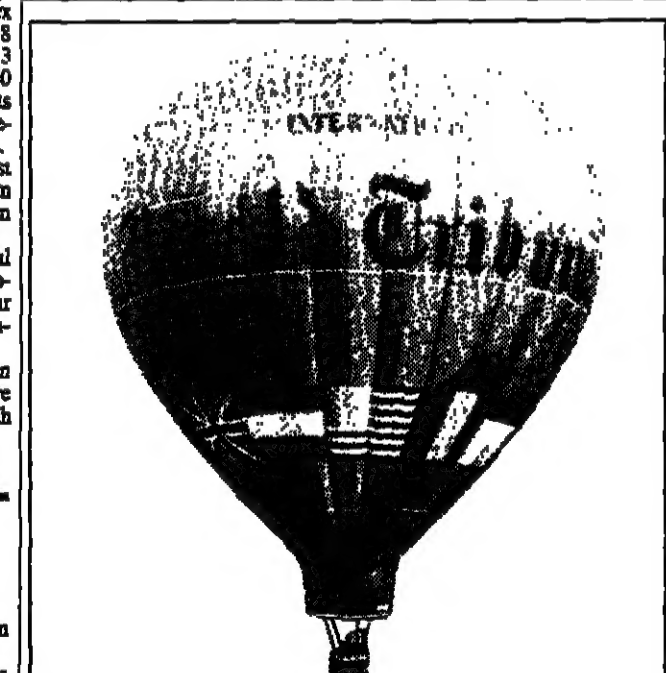
September 1, 1990

The world's most prestigious balloon race was created in 1906 by James Gordon Bennett, Jr., founder of the International Herald Tribune.

That year, a quarter of a million spectators watched sixteen gas-filled balloons from 6 countries rise from the Tuileries Gardens in Paris. The object of the race: fly the farthest distance before landing.

The rules haven't changed over the years, and the departure of the 1990 Gordon Bennett International Balloon Race will also be spectacular: an illuminated night take-off from the alpine resort town of Lech am Arlberg — 1,500 meters above sea level.

Thirteen balloons will participate, representing six countries: Austria, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, the United States and the Virgin Islands. The balloons will take off one by one starting at 8 p.m. on Saturday, September 1.



34th GORDON BENNETT BALLOON RACE

Lech am Arlberg, Austria
September 1, 1990

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CURRENCY RATES

Cross Rates										Aug. 28	
	\$	D.M.	P.F.	L.F.	Sw.	N.F.	Y.P.	CS	Port.		
American	1.00	0.75	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
British	1.34	1.00	134	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
French	6.55	0.15	655	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
German	1.36	0.73	136	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Italian	1.36	0.73	136	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Japanese	163.63	0.0061	16363	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Swiss	1.48	0.67	148	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Spanish	166.37	0.0060	16637	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Portuguese	200.48	0.0050	20048	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Belgian	36.36	0.0275	3636	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Dutch	3.76	0.266	376	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

in London and Zurich, *figures in other countries: New York closing rates. Toronto closing rates of 5 p.m.*

Source: The Wall Street Journal, The United Press, N.Y. Not quoted: N.A. Not quoted: N.A.

MARKET DIARY

Stocks Inch Higher In Light Trading

NEW YORK — Stocks closed slightly higher Tuesday in very light trading, as the Dow Jones industrial average gained in the last few minutes of action on official statements concerning the Gulf crisis.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which soared 78.71 points

cent, to 25,710.76 after gaining 976.00 on Monday.

In London, stocks rallied sharply Tuesday as the market reopened after a holiday Monday that kept traders from participating in the buying that prompted steep rises in other countries. Shares surged at the opening bell and held most of their gains throughout the session, although volume was low. The FTSE-100 index rose 39.7 points to close at 2,126.1.

Other European markets fell, succumbing to profit-taking after Monday's steep rises, based on hopes of a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis and lower oil prices.

In Frankfurt, profit-taking knocked shares down sharply as operators took advantage of a lack in fresh Gulf news to reverse part of Monday's record 6 percent rise. The DAX 30-share index ended 36.91 points lower at 1,617.89.

Share prices also dropped in Paris, as optimism about the situation turned into a loss of confidence in the Gulf that had been evident Monday on the Bourse evaporated. The CAC-40 index closed 19.14 points lower at 1,680.58.

The 225-share Nikkei average was up 569.00 points, or 2.26 per-

N.Y. Stocks

Monday, its biggest gain of the year, rose 3.22 to close at 2,614.85. Among broad market gauges, the New York Stock Exchange composite index added 0.08 to 176.26. The price of an average share edged up 1 cent. Standard & Poor's 500-stock index lost 0.10 to 321.34.

Advances led declines by about a 4-3 margin. Volume amounted to 127.7 million shares, compared with the 160 million on Monday. In Tokyo, stocks closed higher Tuesday on continued momentum from the day before. Falling oil prices and a stronger yen also fueled morning advances, but persistent rumors of trouble in the Gulf capped gains in the afternoon.

The 225-share Nikkei average was up 569.00 points, or 2.26 per-

Dollar Edges Higher In Technical Trading

NEW YORK — The dollar rose against most European currencies on short covering Tuesday but fell against the yen, which was bolstered by a report of a possible rise in Japan's discount rate.

Activity was marked mainly by

narrow range trading in New York, dealers said.

The yen surged earlier in Asia, dropping the dollar briefly below 143 yen for the first time since January.

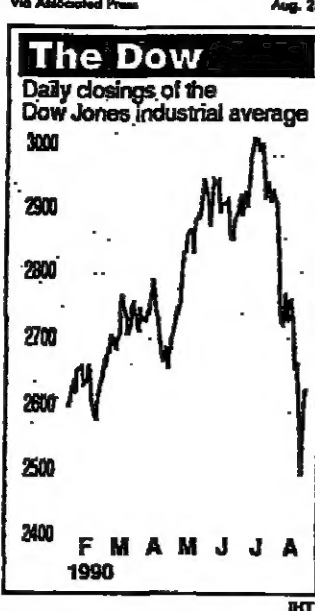
The rise came amid a 2.3 percent rally by Tokyo stocks. Also, a Jiji News Service report said Bank of Japan officials will meet Wednesday to approve an increase in the discount rate to 6.0 percent from 5.25 percent currently.

The dollar closed at 143.77 yen, down from 144.25 yen Monday. It also closed at 1.5559 Deutsche marks, up from 1.5512 DM.

Gold continued to lose its luster as fears of Mideast fighting waned. The spot price of gold, which plunged \$26.80 an ounce on Monday, fell a further \$3.90 in New York to \$383.85 an ounce.

The dollar also rose to 1.2865 Swiss francs from 1.2745 francs Monday, and to 5.2170 French francs from 5.2025 francs.

The pound rose marginally to \$1.9430 from \$1.9425. In London earlier, the dollar closed at 1.5540 DM, up from 1.5519 DM late Friday, and at 143.20 yen, down from 145.98 yen. Markets in London were closed Monday for a holiday.



NYSE Most Active

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
WILLIS TOWERS WATSON	149.75	149.50	149.75	+0.25
LAURENCE BERKELEY	12.50	12.40	12.50	+0.10
AMERICAN AIR	11.50	11.40	11.50	+0.10
AMERICAN AIR	11.50	11.40	11.50	+0.10
AMERICAN AIR	11.50	11.40	11.50	+0.10
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AMEX Most Active

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
AMERICAN AIR	11.50	11.40	11.50	+0.10
AMERICAN AIR	11.50	11.40	11.50	+0.10
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NYSE Diary

Not available at press time

AMEX Diary

Not available at press time

NASDAQ Diary

Not available at press time

AMEX Most Active

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
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Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Indus	25,710.76	25,710.76	25,710.76	+1.22
Trans	10,125.00	10,125.00	10,125.00	+0.01
Comp	10,125.00	10,125.00	10,125.00	+0.01

Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Indus	321.34	321.34	321.34	-0.10
Trans	101.25	101.25	101.25	+0.01
Comp	101.25	101.25	101.25	+0.01
NYSE	176.26	176.26	176.26	+0.08
AMEX	11.50	11.50	11.50	+0.10

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SPORTS

Blue Jays Run Into Trouble

By Robert Facbet

TORONTO—The Toronto Blue Jays live or die by the home run. Having gone 10 games without one, the Blue Jays are watching their pennant hopes die.

Without the big hit, Toronto was shut out for three straight games by first-place Boston over the weekend and, after losing Monday, dropped five games behind in the American League East Division.

The Blue Jays seemingly are incapable of scratching out runs. They are more likely to run themselves out of an inning than to manufacture a run with a bunt, hit-and-run or right-side grounder with a man on second.

"You have to give the Red Sox a lot of credit for playing good baseball and a little credit for playing stupid baseball," said outfielder Mookie Wilson, the former New York Met who wonders why his current team has so little acquaintance with the fundamentals.

Wilson drew an ovation on Saturday when he successfully executed a sacrifice bunt. It was the only one Toronto managed in a series in which three games were decided by one run and the other by two. Wilson, in fact, owns one-third of the team's 15 sacrifices, by far the fewest in the major leagues. Seventeen of 26 teams have more than 40.

The Blue Jays lost four of five games in Texas early in August. During those defeats, they had eight runners thrown out, five of which represented the tying or lead run.

"We've made a lot of base running mistakes, a lot of mental mistakes," Toronto's manager, Cito Gaston, said. "Errors you can accept, but a mental lapse has a tendency to come back and cost you."

Asked what a manager could do about mental lapses, Gaston replied: "Not a damn thing. I'd like to get inside these guys' heads, but I'm not quite that skilled."

The Blue Jays' shortcomings were made obvious by the Oakland Athletics in their five-game American League championship series last fall. The A's took over the major league home run lead during the Blue Jays' recent drought, but they also are expert at the little things.

"A lot of people think Oakland just hits home runs," the Toronto infielder Rance Mulliniks said. "But they execute better than anybody else. If they get a man on third with one out or a man on second with none out, they get the run in. That takes attitude as well as talent."

Ironically, Mulliniks was pinch-hitting Saturday in the ninth with none out, a runner on first and the Blue Jays trailing Roger Clemens, 1-0. A bunt was the obvious call, but Mulliniks got a green light and lined out. The next batter, Fred McGriff, doubled, but Toronto never did score.

Two decisions during Friday's 3-0 loss saddled Gaston with monumental second guesses.

Greg Myers doubled in the seventh and Manny Lee, a poor batter who had botched a sacrifice attempt the night

Brewers Buzz Toronto

The Associated Press

TORONTO—The Toronto Blue Jays snapped a 28-inning scoreless streak, swatting consecutive run-scoring doubles in the second inning. But for the rest of the game Monday, the only thing they were swatting were bugs.

The game was delayed for 35 minutes in the fifth by swarms of gnats. But when the SkyDome's roof was closed and play resumed, the Milwaukee Brewers took advantage of some sloppy play to score two unearned runs in a 4-2 victory, sending the struggling Blue Jays to their fourth straight loss.

The gnats had players spraying their uniforms with insect repellent.

"They were all over everybody," said B.J. Surhoff, who doubled in the tie-breaking run in the seventh. "We could have played on, but it was ridiculous. They seemed to be concentrating on home plate and the mound."

With one out in the seventh and the score tied at 2-2, Rob Deer singled and Surhoff doubled just beyond the reach of first baseman Fred McGriff. Surhoff took off for third on the futile throw home by right fielder Junior Felix, who took five steps before releasing the ball, and scored when catcher Pat Borders threw wildly trying to get him.

Umpire Don Denkinger, the crew chief, halted the game in the fifth.

"I've never seen anything like it," Denkinger said. "I've seen games called by rain, wind and snow, but never bugs."

before, did it again. After making the bunt try obvious, he tapped the ball right back to pitcher Dana Kiecker, an excellent fielder who got the out at third.

A switch hitter, Lee was batting left-handed and could be expected to at least manage a right-side grounder. However, Gaston explained: "I know Manny's not a good bunter, especially from the left side. But I don't think Manny is able to pull the ball in that situation."

In the fifth inning, the first two Toronto batters reached base against Kiecker. No situation could be more demanding of a bunt but the next batter, Tony Fernandez, the No. 2 hitter, grounded the first pitch into a double play.

Gaston said Kelly Gruber and George Bell, the third and fourth hitters, "haven't" had too much luck with Kiecker, so that's why I didn't bunt." Gaston probably was right. Gruber and Bell were a combined zero for 24 in the four-game series. But if they aren't hitting, why are they occupying the key spots in the batting order?



Toronto's David Wells found a solution to the swarm of gnats that invaded the SkyDome: a bee screen.

Burks Homers Twice in One Inning as Red Sox Rout the Indians

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

Ellis Burks became the second player in Red Sox history to hit two home runs in one inning and Mike Boddicker extended Boston's shutout streak to 33½ innings in a 12-4 victory over the Indians in Cleveland.

Burks, who hit a run-scoring double in the first inning Monday night, opened Boston's eight-run fourth against Tom Candiotti with his 14th homer and capped it by greasing Coby Ward with a three-run shot. Burks also singled in the ninth as Boston won its fourth straight.

The streak of 33½ scoreless innings by Boston pitchers ended when Boddicker gave up a solo home run to Chris

James with two out in the seventh. It was the first home run yielded by a Boston pitcher in 96 innings.

Burks' feat was the 25th time in major league history that a player hit two home runs in one inning. The only

BASEBALL ROUNDUP

other Red Sox player with two in one inning was Bill Regan on June 16, 1928.

Twins 7, White Sox 0: In Minneapolis, Gene Larkin drove in four runs with a three-run homer and a single and 16-game loser Allan Anderson pitched a four-hitter for his first shutout of the season. Anderson pitched his third

straight complete game and fifth full game of the season. The White Sox fell 5½ games behind idle first-place Oakland in the American League West.

Yankees 4, Orioles 0: Jesse Barfield, Matt Nokes and Roberto Kelly homered off rookie Ben McDonald, who had yielded only two home runs in 57 previous innings, and Andy Hawkins pitched a four-hitter through 6½ innings in Baltimore.

Angels 7, Rangers 3: Dick Schofield's single with two out in the eighth inning snapped a 3-3 tie and Devon White followed with a three-run homer in Anaheim, California.

Lee Stevens singled to open the inning off John Bar-

field. Brad Arnberg retired two batters before Jack Howie singled Stevens to third and Schofield's single scored him. White then hit his 10th home run.

Padres 4, Expos 1: In a National League game in Montreal, Joe Carter and Gary Templeton homered for the Padres and Craig Lefferts got pinch-hitter Andres Galarraga to fly out with the bases loaded in the ninth for the game's final out.

Carter tied the score at 1-1 with a solo home run in the fourth, and an RBI single by Rip Roberts put the Padres ahead in the fifth.

Templeton hit a two-run shot in the seventh off Dennis Boyd. (AP, UPI)

SIDELINES

Leonard Relinquishes Title

MEXICO CITY (AP)—The World Boxing Council has announced that Sugar Ray Leonard has renounced his super-middleweight world title.

The council said in a news release on Monday that Leonard renounced the title during a telephone call with Jose Sulaiman, WBC president. The title was won against Don Lalonde on Nov. 7, 1988.

"Leonard said that at the moment he has no plans to defend this title," said the council release, signed by Eduardo Lamazon, the WBC secretary, "and that he has found himself far below the weight of the super-middleweight division, and therefore he offered the resignation."

Gretzky: Oilers' Boss Cheap

EDMONTON, Alberta (AP)—Wayne Gretzky, in his book "Gretzky: An Autobiography," co-written with Rick Reilly of Sports Illustrated, describes Peter Pocklington, owner of the Edmonton Oilers as a cheapie and says "sometimes he could be a complete jerk."

The National Hockey League's all-time leading scorer, now with the Los Angeles Kings, says money was at the root of problems he had with Pocklington and then-coach Glen Sather, now the Oilers' president and general manager.

He says Sather couldn't accept that players wanted higher salaries and Pocklington used the cash flow provided by the Oilers to support his other business ventures.

Greek Bettor Hits Jackpot

ATHENS (AP)—A 30-year old Greek businessman who is said to have a limited knowledge of soccer, has won 102 million drachmas (\$663,000) by forecasting the correct results in the weekly soccer pool the past two weeks.

The businessman, who asked that his name not be published, was the only one out of thousands of persons to pick the correct results of all 13 games listed in the pool two weeks ago for a prize of 34 million drachmas. He did it again last week and won 68 million drachmas.

Cavanaugh Rallies Eagles

INDIANAPOLIS (AP)—Matt Cavanaugh completed nine of 10 passes for 109 yards in the fourth quarter and set up Roger Ruzek's 33-yard field goal with 1:36 to go, lifting the Philadelphia Eagles to a 17-16 National Football League exhibition victory over the Indianapolis Colts.

Cavanaugh, the third quarterback used by Philadelphia, completed four of five passes for 55 yards as Philadelphia drove from its own 18 with five minutes to go to the Colts' 16 at the two-minute mark. Ruzek then made the winning field goal.

Cavanaugh completed four straight passes for 54 yards on his first series as the Eagles rallied from a 16-7 deficit in the final period.

For the Record

The Pittsburgh Penguins' Mario Lemieux skated for 15 minutes Monday for the first time since surgery on July 11 for a herniated disk in his back. He said his only complaint was "just some minor stuff from working out."

George Foreman, the former world heavyweight champion, will continue his comeback against the Argentine champion, Walter Mesa, in London Arena on Sept. 25. Foreman, 42, has won 22 consecutive fights since coming out of retirement in 1987.

The Argentine Tennis Association said Tuesday that Martin Jaite and Alberto Mancini will play singles and Christian Minussi and Javier Frana will play doubles in its Davis Cup semifinal with Australia. Minussi is replacing Gustavo Luza for the Sept. 21-23 match in Sydney. (AP)

BOOKS

THE WORLD IS BURNING

By Alex Shoumatoff. 377 pages. \$19.95. Little, Brown, 34 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. 02108.

THE BURNING SEASON: The Murder of Chico Mendes and the Fight for the Amazon Rain Forest

By Andrew Revkin. 317 pages. \$19.95. Houghton Mifflin, One Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., 02108.

Reviewed by Roger Cohen

I Chico Mendes, a Brazilian rubber tapper who was murdered in December 1988, the developed world found a symbol of resistance to the destruction of the planet.

Mendes, who had campaigned for the preservation of the Amazon rain forest that provided his livelihood, became a martyr to the environment and a posthumously fashionable figure.

After a torrid summer in the United States in 1988, with its drought and fires in Yellowstone Park, the killing of Mendes by ranchers intent on setting the Brazilian forest ablaze caught the imagi-

nation and indignation of Americans. He became the symbol of the little man standing up to the big interests that were fueling global warming.

Now, two books—Andrew Revkin's "Burning Season: The Murder of Chico Mendes and the Fight for the Amazon Rain Forest" and Alex Shoumatoff's "The World Is Burning"—look back at the life and death of Mendes.

Each, inevitably, covers much of the same ground, chronicling the gradual transformation of Mendes from a humble rubber tapper in Acre, an eastern Brazilian state, to a man whose courageous defense of the trees and workers he loved eventually made him a figure of such influence that the ranchers he opposed decided to kill him.

But the similarities between the books end there. While Revkin's book is a clear, informative account of the clash in the dark heart of the rain forest, Shoumatoff seems unable to decide whether he is writing a personal travelogue of his own meanderings in the Amazon and elsewhere or the story of Mendes.

Mendes emerges as a genuinely tragic figure, swept up in larger forces that ultimately destroy him. Born into the depressed fringes of western Brazil, he takes up his father's work, tapping the rubber trees of the rain forest to extract the syrupy latex that will become rubber.

Through a series of chance encounters, he is thrust from this role into the defense of his livelihood against ranchers and others pouring into Acre, intent on burning the forest for pasture.

Finally, as the global environmental movement gathers force, he assumes a much wider role as a spokesman for the rain forest at international meetings in Miami and Washington, before his still primitive corner of Brazil reclaims him, with bullets.

While waving the Mendes banner is now de rigueur for those who are attracted by rain-forest chic, this is a useful reminder that the rubber tapper was no starry-eyed environmentalist.

On the contrary, his struggle to create "extractive reserves" in the forest was directly born of the violent reality of Brazil. It is a reality well captured by

Revkin when he evokes the strangeness of Amazonia:

Large extractive reserves for rubber and nuts have been created since Mendes's death. Killings in Amazonia have fallen off in an apparent sign that the ranchers' sense of impunity has diminished. And the new Brazilian president, Fernando Collor de Mello, has committed himself to environmental defense amid a growing realization that the development of the Amazon has been hopelessly mismanaged.

This is testimony to Mendes's achievement. The Amazon, 15 percent of the total mass of plant life, is still little known, and he stood up, almost alone, to preserve its treasures. As Revkin writes, in an image that is bound to encourage those continuing the struggle Mendes began, "Where one tree has fallen to crumble and rot, dozens of green seedlings and saplings suddenly spring up for the blast of sunlight entering the hole in the canopy."

Roger Cohen is on the staff of The New York Times.

BEST SELLERS

The New York Times
This list is based on reports from more than 2,000 bookstores throughout the United States. Weeks on list are not necessarily consecutive.

Fiction

- | This Week | Last Week | On List |
|---|-----------|---------|
| 1 THE BURDEN OF PROOF, by Scott Turow | 1 | 11 |
| 2 THE WOMEN IN HIS LIFE, by Barbara Taylor Bradford | 3 | 3 |
| 3 MEMOIRS OF MIDNIGHT, by Sidney Sheldon | 4 | 2 |
| 4 MESSAGE FROM NAM, by Paul Theroux | 2 | 10 |
| 5 THE STAND, by Stephen King | 6 | 16 |
| 6 COYOTE WAITS, by Tony Gilroy | 4 | 11 |
| 7 SEPTEMBER, by Rosemary Fidler | 9 | 17 |
| 8 OH, THE PLACES YOU'LL GO! by Dr. Seuss | 7 | 12 |
| 9 GET SHORTY, by Elmore Leonard | 5 | 13 |
| 10 STARDUST, by Robert B. Parker | 8 | 14 |
| 11 HAMMERHEADS, by Dale Brown | 10 | 4 |
| 12 AN INCONVENIENT WOMAN, by Dominick Dunne | 11 | 16 |
| 13 THE BOURNE ULTIMATUM, by Robert Ludlum | 12 | 24 |
| 14 DRAGON, by Clive Cussler | 13 | 16 |
| 15 SEVENTH HEAVEN, by Alice Hoffman | 14 | 3 |

Nonfiction

- | This Week | Last Week | On List |
|--|-----------|---------|
| 1 MEN AT WORK, by George F. Will | 1 | 20 |
| 2 THE POLITICS OF RICH AND POOR, by Kevin Phillips | 3 | 4 |

JUMBLE

Unscramble these four jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

HAFES
LUDGI
TANFIN
RALFOL

Now arrange the jumbled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

Answer here: _____

(Premiere tomorrow)

Yesterday's Jumble: MOGUL. PRIVY. DECADE. REALITY.

Answer: If you're lucky, that will be a pleasure to take it not -- TO -- DENISE.

DOONESBURY

HELLO!

HI, BABY, IT'S ME, THURGOOD. YOU'RE OKAY! I'VE BEEN SO NERVOUS!

SURE, SURE.

MIKE CALLED AND EXPLAINED THE WHOLE THING! BABE, I HAD NO IDEA HANK HAD BEEN CAUSING SUCH PROBLEMS! I FEEL AWFUL!

I'M TELLING HIM TO LEAVE, B.D.I! PERHAPS, THIS TIME! NO, HANK! JUST KID AND ME! WHAT DO YOU SAY, BABY? WILL YOU GIVE ME ONE LAST CHANCE?

FIRE UP THE JACUZZI, KID! I'M COMIN' HOME!

SHARP!

SHARP!

SHARP!

SHARP!

SHARP!

SHARP!

SHARP!

SHARP!

SHARP!

SHARP!

SHARP!

SHARP!

PEANUTS

LOOK! I GOT A LETTER FROM PEGGY JEAN. SHE SAYS SHE MISSES ME.

SHE SAYS SHE HOPES WE MEET AGAIN SOMETIME.

I'LL BET THAT ISN'T ALL.

SHE ALSO SAYS, 'GIVE A HUG TO YOUR CUTE, WONDERFUL, CHARMING, LITTLE DOG.'

I KNEW IT!

8-29

BEETLE BAILEY

IT'S AMAZING! MISS BUXLEY HAS WORKED HERE FOUR YEARS AND I'VE YET TO FIND A SINGLE FLAW.

BUT I'M SURE YOU'LL FIND THE PATIENCE TO KEEP LOOKING.

8-29

ANDY CAPP

FANCY MAKING A BIT OF EASY MONEY, PET?

NO, THANKS.

SURE? (POSITIVE)

THE EASIEST WAY TO MAKE MONEY IS BY DECEIVING IT.

8-29

WIZARD OF ID

THROW TOWN THE PAYROLL!

THIS MUST BE THE SPACE TO ID!

YOU GOT IT!

8-29

REX MORGAN

WHEN YOU ANSWER MY QUESTION WITH A QUESTION, I MUST ASSUME IT'S SOMETHING YOU'D RATHER NOT DISCUSS!

THAT'S RIGHT!

BY THE WAY, THE TWO MEN WHO BEAT YOU UP HAVE BEEN FOUND. BOTH HAVE RAP SHEETS A MILE LONG. I'M CERTAIN THEY WERE PART OF A CONSPIRACY AGAINST YOU, JEFFREY.

YOU JUST HAPPENED TO BE IN THE WRONG PLACE AT THE RIGHT TIME!

8-29

GARFIELD

SOMETIMES I WISH I COULD SLEEP ALL DAY LIKE YOU, GARFIELD.

NEVER HAVING A CARE IN THE WORLD.

OH, I HAVE PLENTY TO WORRY ABOUT.

LIKE LOSING SLEEP FOR INSTANCE!

8-29

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OBSERVER

Koppel et al. of Arabia

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK — He had been the first to get into Baghdad. That's why they called him Koppel of Arabia. The name had weight. Before he was Koppel of Arabia he had been just another Ted.

Well, admittedly, not just any old Ted. How many Teds, after all, had their own "Nightline" on ABC television? But those publicity-starved politicians he interviewed for all America just before the witching hour each night all called him just plain Ted.

It was never "Mr. Koppel." Sure, there was the faint slurp of bootlicking in the way they said "Ted," as if to suggest to America's millions that they and "Ted" were old fraternity brothers. There was a plea for mercy, too, in that "Ted."

"I'm calling you 'Ted' because even though I'm a famous politician I want to be your pal, Ted, so don't humiliate me with an embarrassing question in front of America's millions, Ted."

And now, Koppel of Arabia. It was noted at CBS that the one evening America's millions heard ecstatic shouts of discovery from their children, who had been searching the telly for old Popeye cartoons and lubricious MTV videos.

"It is Rather of Arabia," chorused millions of youths who had stumbled across CBS in their quest for mindlessness and sex. Yes, Dan Rather had reached Baghdad.

Old-timers said, okay, Koppel of Arabia and Rather of Arabia gave the United States plenty of anchor muscle in the date-and-fig belt, but what about the days when we had Peter O'Toole, Anthony Quinn and Omar Sharif all stacked up at the same time for action in deep sand?

Maybe O'Toole, Quinn and Sharif weren't big, big anchors, but they were big, big stars with excellent diction, which meant they could have done a terrific job of telling America the desert was very hot before turning the audience back to the nobodies manning the networks back home.

As if to demolish the memory of O'Toole, Quinn and Sharif, NBC almost instantly produced *Breakout of Arabia* squinting into intense heat.

Then one morning an America desperate for news — was the des-

ert still hot? — awoke to discover

— yes, yes —

Gumbel of Arabia!

Back in mild-temperated

America, non-desert events continued

to occur, but since all anchors

had become Anchors of Arabia

these events lost their power to affect

humanity.

The cost of the savings and loan

scandal continued to rise uncele-

brated as the lure of sand and camel

drew ever more TV news powers

into a vortex increasingly rich in pho-

to opportunities.

□

Suddenly, for example, there was

Sawyer of Arabia, and millions of

viewers said, "Diane Sawyer?"

While thousands who had once read

a book said, "Tom Sawyer?"

It was Forest Sawyer, a reporter

everybody had seen on one of the

breakfast shows long before Bryant

Gumbel became Gumbel of Arabia.

His low name recognition, how-

ever, created problems. You

couldn't call him Forest Sawyer of

Arabia. The whole point of being

"of Arabia" was that it was so

glamorous that one name ought to

say it all. It had always been "Law-

rence of Arabia," not "T. E. Lawrence

of Arabia."

Before the United States could

solve the problem of how to deal

with Forest Sawyer of Arabia, its

attention was riveted on a new old

beloved figure standing in the sand.

America's children who love him

more than Popeye cartoons and all

most as clearly as lubricious MTV

videos squealed in delight: It's

Sam Donaldson and he's in Arabia.

Millions of parental American

viewers stirred from their slumber

to find, sure enough, Sam of Ara-

bia. Right there, barely 20 feet

behind him, he said, was the Iraq

border across which death might

come hurtling at any instant. The

jaw muscles of Sam of Arabia

clenched bravely, signifying readi-

ness to accept death if such must be

the price of bringing America news

that the desert was very hot.

Cued by Sam Donaldson's show-

ing, millions in the audience natu-

rally asked the logical question:

"What is Chung of Arabia?"

Other millions who read *People*

magazine had the answer: She is

trying to have a baby. That's the

other news this month.

New York Times Service

Dostoyevsky, Janacek
And an Opera for Now

By Harlow Robinson

NEW YORK — The novels of

Fyodor Dostoyevsky pack

enough violence, sex and intrigue

to make *Tosca* blush, but they

have inspired surprisingly few op-

erars. Perhaps composers balk at

their sheer mass, or at all those

feverish philosophical dialogues.

Only two major composers

have attempted Dostoyevsky op-

erars. One, "The Gambler" (com-

pleted in 1917 and revised in

1928), was Sergei Prokofiev's first

opera. The other, "From the

House of the Dead" (completed

in 1928), was the last opera of

Leoš Janacek (1854-1928). Both

works have been slow to enter the

international repertoire, and until

now neither has been staged by a

major American company. But

the Chicago Lyric Opera will

mount "The Gambler" in the

1991-92 season, and on Tuesday

the New York City Opera unveils

the new production of "From the

House of the Dead." Dostoyevsky

sang in English and using English

superlatives.

Rhoda Levine, who is staging it

at City Opera, first suggested that

the company do the work, which

she had already directed for a

1969 WNET Opera Theater

broadcast and for the Theater

lands Opera. European audiences

know Janacek's operas much bet-

ter than Americans. In Europe,

says Christopher Keene, City Op-

era's general director, "Janacek

has become a repertory composer.

He's as popular there as Richard

Strauss, if not more so."

Janacek based his opera on a

hybrid piece of autobiographical

fiction that Dostoyevsky called

"Notes From the Dead House."

A thinly veiled account of the

writer's own experiences, it ap-

peared in serial form between

1860 and 1862, re-establishing his

reputation after 10 years of Siberian

imprisonment and exile.

In 1849, at age 27, Dostoyevsky

was arrested along with the other

members of a socialist discussion

group. Condemned to death, he

was dramatically reprieved as he

stood before the firing squad. He

then served four years in a prison

labor camp near Omsk (Aeroflot

stewards now dispense this as

charity tourist information to pas-

sengers about to land there), fol-

lowed by six years of exile in the

remote city of Semipalatinsk.

Dostoyevsky invents a narrator

— Alexander Petrovich Goryan-

An opera that is

'very current, if we

will only look

around us.'

chikov. A nobleman, Goryanchi-

kov (his name comes from a Rus-

sian word for grief or misfortune)

was sentenced to 10 years — not

for political activity, but for mur-

dering his wife. After being re-

leased, he recorded his prison ob-

servations in a journal later

"discovered" by Dostoyevsky.

Plotless and devoted primarily to

trenchant portraits of prisoners,

this semi-journalistic work led to a

public outcry against Russia's pe-

nal system.

Janacek shared Dostoyevsky's

obsession with sinners and crim-

inals, repentance and retribution,

and the relativity of guilt and in-

nocence. Born in rural Moravia,

part of present-day Czechoslov-

akia, where he spent most of his

life, this highly individual com-

poser often made murderers and

adulterers sympathetic protagon-

ists in his operas.

With its perpetual concern for

large spiritual questions, Russian

literature fascinated Janacek, an

ardent Russophile. Not only did

he teach himself Russian, he was

also the host of a Russian circle in

his home city of Brno, gave his

children Russian names (Olga

and Vladimir), traveled to Russia

and wrote enthusiastically of his

experiences there.

During the last 10 years of his

life, his most productive, Janacek

composed four major works in-

spired by Russian literature: the

orchestral rhapsody "Taras

Bulba" (Gogol), a string quartet

prompted by Tolstoy's story "The

Kreutzer Sonata," "Katya Ka-

banova" (from an Ostrovsky

play) and "From the House of

the Dead." Janacek wrote his own

libretto for this work, making

many changes in Dostoyevsky's

text for dramatic effect.

The opera provides more hope

than Dostoyevsky's story. Gory-

anchikov becomes a sympathetic,

though still far from convention-

al, protagonist: a political

prisoner (as Dostoyevsky was),

rather than a murderer, and an

accepted member of the collec-

tive, not an alienated intellectual.

At the opera's end, Goryanchikov

is freed unexpectedly; in the novel,

he simply serves his term. The

composer times the protagonist's

release to coincide with that of an

eagle nursed back to health by the

prisoners; in Dostoyevsky, the eagle

is still injured when freed.

For musical variety, Janacek

expanded the character of a

young Tatar, Alyeya, who be-

friends Goryanchikov. He made

this a trouser role for soprano,

one of only two female voices in

the opera. (The other is a prostitu-

te.)

Like Dostoyevsky's "Notes,"

the opera really belongs to the

"chorus" of prisoners, who tell of

the crimes that brought them to

Siberia: murders driven by sexual

jealousy, unbearable oppression

or a fierce need for self-expres-

sion. In Act 3 in the prison hospi-

tal, Shishkov tells the long, pas-

sionate story of Akulka, whom he

murdered after learning that she

preferred his rougher life, Filka

Morozov. In a twist missing in

Dostoyevsky, Shishkov then re-

cognizes Filka as the prisoner who

has just died on the bed nearby.

Musically, "From the House of

the Dead" represents Janacek at

the height of his powers. The or-

chestra, important in all his op-

erars, dominates this one.

The score is transparent, al-

most chamberlike in its construc-

tion," says Keene, who conducts

this production. "Janacek scores

at the top and the bottom, leaving

the space in the middle almost

unimpeded for the human voice.

All those nonmusical sounds he

puts in are fascinating — saws,

chains, pickaxes and whips. He

is right now," Keene said, alluding

to the political upheavals in East-

ern Europe. "Janacek tells us that

escape from tyranny is possible,

that optimism is not entirely un-

founded and that every human be-

ing, no matter how flawed, con-

tains some spark of divinity. To

look for the genuinely good in oth-

er people is a goal we need to

reminiscent of ourselves of daily."

Levine finds that the opera also

speaks directly to the troubled life

she sees in New York today. "Per-

haps Americans resist confronting

the difficult issues that this opera

raises," she says. "We don't want

to think about the relationship be-

tween criminals and their keepers,

and how alienated people can be

from each other — but we must.

This opera is very current, if we

will only look around us."

Harlow Robinson, the author of

"Sergei Prokofiev: A Biography,"

is a teacher at the State Univer-

sity of New York at Albany, wrote

this for The New York Times.



Barbara Sharris (Alyeya) and Harlan Foss (Goryanchikov) rehearse New York City Opera's "From the House of the Dead."

was a genius at characterization,

and the score has plenty of beauti-

ful long-breathed melodies."

City Opera is using an edition

prepared and recorded by Charles

Mackerras. Janacek died before

the vocal score was prepared. Soon

after, the composer's students Bro-

slav Bakala and Oswald Chlubna

prepared a score marked by nu-

merous changes and simplifica-

tions. Their most egregious error

was to cut the opera with Goryan-

chikov's optimistic words "fre-

edom, freedom" not the abrupt re-

sumption of the prisoners' march

intended by Janacek.

Later, Rafael Kubelik pro-

duced a more accurate version

that he conducted at the Ham-

burg State Opera in 1972. After